

ACCOUNT OF THE PRESENT STATE  
OF THE  
H E B R I D E S  
AND  
WESTERN COASTS OF SCOTLAND.  
IN WHICH  
ACCOUNT OF THE PRESENT STATE  
OF THE  
H E B R I D E S  
AND  
WESTERN COASTS OF SCOTLAND.



ACCOUNT OF THE PRESENT STATE

OF THE

H E B R I D E S

AND

WESTERN COASTS OF SCOTLAND

AN  
ACCOUNT OF THE PRESENT STATE  
OF THE  
H E B R I D E S  
AND  
WESTERN COASTS OF SCOTLAND:

IN WHICH

An attempt is made to explain the circumstances that have hitherto repressed the industry of the Natives; and some hints are suggested for encouraging the Fisheries, and promoting other improvements in those countries.

BEING THE SUBSTANCE OF A

REPORT TO THE LORDS OF TREASURY

of Facts collected in a Tour to the HEBRIDES, with large additions; together with the Evidence given before the Committee of Fisheries:

BY

JAMES ANDERSON, LL.D. FRS. FSA. *Scot.*

*Author of*

The Interest of Great Britain with regard to her American Colonies considered. Observations on the Means of exciting a Spirit of National Industry, &c. &c. &c.

Illustrated with a NEW MAP of Scotland, in which the Hebrides and Western Coasts, in particular, are laid down from the best Authorities and latest Observations.

---

D U B L I N :

PRINTED BY M. GRAISBERRY, FOR  
Messrs. WHITE, BYRNE, MCKENZIE, MARCHBANK,  
JONES, and MOORE.

MDCCCLXXVI.

1786  
5361  
25

F6649.20.2A

ACCOUNT OF THE PRESENT STATE  
HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY  
GIFT OF

DANIEL B. FEARING  
JUN 30 1915

H E B R I D E S

AND

WESTERN COASTS OF SCOTLAND:

IN WHICH

An attempt is made to explain the circumstances that have hitherto  
prevented the industry of the natives; and some plans are  
proposed for encouraging the Fisheries, and promoting  
other improvements in those countries.

BEING THE SUBSTANCE OF A

REPORT TO THE LORDS OF TREASURY

of Facts collected in a Tour to the Hebrides, with a view  
to ascertain the state of the Fisheries, and the  
of Fisheries:

BY

JAMES ANDERSON, M.D. F.R.S. &c.

Author of

The present on Great Britain with regard to her Fisheries  
considered. Observations on the means of raising a supply of  
National Industry, &c. &c.  
Illustrated with a New Map of Scotland, showing the Hebrides and  
Western Coast, in particular, and the Towns  
the best Authorities and latest Observations.

D U B L I N :

Printed by M. G. A. S. E. R. Y.,  
Messrs. White, Hayes, McKenna, & Co.,  
Printers, 10, Old Bailey, London.  
1845.

# CONTENTS.

## INTRODUCTION.

	Page
<b>Historical induction concerning the Fisheries</b>	ii
<b>Difficulty in devising a plan for encouraging beginning enterprises</b>	xix
<b>Detached hamlets; consequences of people living in them</b>	xxi
<b>Large and small towns compared with regard to their effects on society</b>	xxxiv
<b>Villages; in what cases beneficial to society</b>	lvii
<b>Revenue</b>	lx
<b>Emigrations; their effect on population and industry</b>	lxxvi
<b>National security</b>	cxiv
<b>General inferences</b>	cxlii
<b>To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury</b>	
<b>A Report of Facts relating to the Fisheries, collected in a Tour among the Islands, and along the Western Coasts of Scotland, undertaken at their Lordships desire, by JAMES ANDERSON, L.L.D. and of Observations founded on these facts, tending to point out the most probable means of promoting the Fisheries, and the consequent improvement of those countries</b>	Page 1
<b>ILLUSTRATIONS of the foregoing Report</b>	117 133
<b>EVIDENCE given before the Committee of the House of Commons appointed to enquire into the state of the British Fisheries, &amp;c. by James Anderson, L.L.D. [Extracted from the Third Report of that Committee, dated 14th July 1785.]</b>	245

APPEN.



# C O N T E N T S.

## A P P E N D I X.

No. I.	Conclusion of the Third Report from the Committee appointed to enquire into the state of the British Fisheries, and into the most effectual means of their improvement and extension, July 14, 1785.	Page 325
No. II.	An account of the way in which the different kinds of Fisheries on our coasts are usually carried on, by the Author	334
No. III.	Observations on the generally received doctrine concerning the migration of herrings, and other particulars relating to their natural history, by the same	346
No. IV.	Memorial of the Earl of Galloway and others to the Right Hon. the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, dated London, 15th April 1783	366
No. V.	Abstract of Mr. Watts' survey and estimate of the expence of making a navigable canal with ten feet water from Fort-William to Inverness	378
No. VI.	Observations on the same, by the Author	386
No. VII.	Abstract of Mr. Watts' report and estimate of the expence of making a canal of different depths across the peninsula of Cantire at Tarbet and Crinan	394
No. VIII.	Observations on the canal proposed to be cut between Loch-Gilp and Loch-Crinan, by the Author	395
No. IX.	Observations on Mr. Murdoch Mackenzie's charts of the Hebrides and Western Coasts of Scotland, by the same	403
No. X.	Hints for the civil police of a town, &c. by the same	416
No. XI.	An account of herrings and cod exported from Scotland; as also of all the monies paid in Scotland for the encouragement of the British herring and cod fisheries, from the Year 1750 to 1782, distinguishing each year	445
No. XII.	Ditto from England, from Christmas 1750 to Christmas 1782; and of salted British Herrings taken for home-consumption; as also of all the monies paid in England for the encouragement of the herring and cod fisheries during that period, distinguishing each year	446
No. XIII.	Particular account of the number of foreign vessels fitted out on the white herring fishery, &c.	447
No. XIV.	Exports of herrings from Gottenburgh from the Year 1774 to 1782	448
No.		No.



# CONTENTS.

	Page
No. XV. Answer to Mr. Byres' Queries concerning the herring-fishing on the coast of Sweden	459

*N. B.* The word *Loch* frequently occurs in the following work, and in the map (abridged L).—English Readers will please to be informed, that in the Scottish dialect the word *Loch*, in strict propriety, is exactly synonymous with *Lake*, being employed to denote a collection of stagnant fresh water; and in this sense it is always understood along the whole of the east coast of Scotland. But along the western coasts, it is equally employed in that sense, and to denote a narrow arm of the sea running up to any considerable distance within land, and has in that sense no exact synonyme that I recollect in the English language.

It was long afforded matter of astonishment to the neighbouring nations, that BRITAIN, whose shores are surrounded by greater shoals of fish than those of any other country on the globe, should have so long remained inactive with regard to the fisheries, while others had been enriched by the treasures they have derived from this source. Their wonder is yet more increased, when they consider that all the people in this Island, for many years past, have showed the greatest indifference to the wealth that nature, and even the care of the government, have so long and so abundantly afforded them, and that they have neglected the riches of her fisheries. For the fisheries on our coast were not only

No. XV. Answer to Mr. Byers' Queries concerning the Land, lying on the coast of Sweden

Mr. B. The word *Land* frequently occurs in the following work, and in the map, (printed L.)—English Readers will please to be informed, that in the Scottish dialect the word *Land*, in strict propriety, is exactly synonymous with *Land*, being employed to denote a collection of adjacent fresh water; and in this sense it is always understood along the whole of the east coast of Scotland. But along the western coast, it is usually employed in that sense, and it denotes a projection of the land running up to any considerable distance within the sea, and has in that sense no exact synonyme that I recollect in the English language.

## INTRODUCTION.

**I**T has long afforded matter of astonishment to neighbouring nations, that BRITAIN, whose shores are surrounded by greater shoals of fish than those of any other country on the Globe, should have so long remained inactive herself with regard to the fisheries, while others have been enriched by the treasures they have derived from this source. Their wonder is yet farther increased, when they consider that all ranks of people in this island, for many years past, have showed the greatest desire possible to encrease her marine, and have therefore warmly patronised every scheme that promised to augment the number of her seamen.—Yet the fisheries on her own coast, which are ob-

A

viously

viouſly better calculated for rearing ſeamen to her than any other meaſure that can be propoſed, have ſtill been ſuffered to remain in ſuch a languid ſtate, as neither to employ the induſtry of the People, augment the wealth of the Nation, nor add to the revenue and reſources of the State. To explain this ſeeming paradox, and to pave the way for future improvements, it will be neceſſary to take a retroſpective view of ſome historical events which have had an influence on the preſent queſtion.

## HISTORICAL INDUCTION.

*concerning the Britiſh Fiſheries.*

At a very early period, the herring-fiſhery was carried on to a great extent, upon the eaſt coaſt of Scotland. But the rivalſhip that then ſubſiſted between Scotland and England, and the frequent wars this produced, never permitted that buſineſs to be carried on to the extent it otherwiſe might have been: And, during the great convuſſions that theſe wars occaſioned, ſome of the moſt induſtrious natives, forced from home by the diſtreſs occaſioned by ſudden predatory expeditions, carried the knowledge of the buſineſs into the Baltic, the Netherlands, and England; and thus eſtabliſhed a ſet of  
rivals,



## INTRODUCTION. iii

rivals, who, profiting by the misfortunes that afterwards befel that unhappy country, acquired in time such a decided superiority over her in this valuable branch of business, as to compel her in a great measure to abandon it.

Of those unfortunate events, the war that was carried on with so much obstinacy during the regency of Mary of Guise, the operations of which were chiefly confined to the very scene of the fisheries at that time, gave the severest shock to that business: And the intestine disorders that prevailed during the whole reign of her beautiful but unfortunate daughter, and the cruel distraction of mind that seized all classes of people during those scenes of anarchy and rapine that accompanied the Reformation in Scotland, continuing to repress the sober exertions of industry, tended still more and more to make the fisheries decline.—From that period till the Union, Scotland was involved in every distress that an insidious policy, calculated to enslave the body, and enervate the minds of the people, could produce. In these circumstances, tho' some of her Princes were busy in making enquiries about the value of the fisheries of other States, and talked loudly of encouraging those of Britain, yet these very Princes were at



the same time sapping the foundations of Liberty, and cruelly oppressing their people, so as to discourage, in the most effectual manner that could be devised, those fisheries they professedly meant to support. Even the Revolution, which procured so many advantages for England, gave very little relief to the people of Scotland; so that industry was not suffered there to revive. And tho' a system of government has prevailed since the Union, that is more favourable to the principles of Liberty than before that period; yet particular events have happened since that time, which have tended very much to retard the progress of industry among the people of Scotland. Nor have they, even till the present hour, been able entirely to overcome the effects of those oppressive regulations, which were established during that system of arbitrary rule which so long prevailed before that event took place.

The Reader will please to observe, that before the Union, England could have no direct concern in the fisheries on the coasts of Scotland. To her, these were, at that time, foreign seas: And although the Kings of England, as Kings of Scotland also, were willing to extend the privilege of fishing to all their subjects; yet the

the laws of the two countries so often clashed, as to produce many vexatious interruptions; and that jealousy which the people of each nation then bore to the other, induced the English to look with a much more favourable eye towards those infant settlements they had lately established beyond the Atlantic, from which they then hoped to derive advantages inconceivably great. Nor has the nation been awaked from this delusive dream, till very lately; so that her Transatlantic dominions have still continued to be the favourite object of her care. Nor does she yet distinctly see the visionary nature of that delusive phantom she has hitherto pursued, with an ardour so keen as to prevent her from adverting to the vast importance of those objects she has neglected on its account.

It deserves to be here also particularly remarked, that during the greatest part of the period above mentioned, those regions which are most peculiarly adapted for carrying on the fisheries with advantage, were under such peculiar circumstances with regard to civil government, as to be only *nominally* subjected even to the Crown of Scotland; so that neither law nor justice could be there impartially administered;

ministered;—nor could any enterprize by individuals be there attempted, but under the protecting power of Government. And as in these circumstances the nature of the country could not be known, the means of improving it were not attended to. The country was therefore neglected as an inhospitable region, and the people were considered as little better than savages; which totally excluded from the minds of mercantile people, any idea of entering into commercial connections with them.

But, tho' the two rebellions that within the present century broke forth in those regions, served rather to cherish than eradicate these ideas, yet it is now well known, that these insurrections have been the means of abolishing that system of feudal government which tended to excite perpetual civil wars and lawless disorder, and to introduce in its stead a system of civil government which has entirely civilized the people\*;

and

\* The natives of the Highlands and Isles, are at this present moment as much civilised in their manners, and under as just a subordination to the laws, as any people whatever; so that in no part of the world is property more secure, or lawless violence more rare among the body of the people, than there; insomuch that a single peace-officer, unattended and unarmed, can execute without difficulty, or danger to himself, any commission

# INTRODUCTION. vii.

and has prepared them for engaging effectually with any persons who may choose to enter into connections with them, either in commerce, or in

mision that the law may require. A stranger also in those regions, may go where he will, in perfect safety; and if he behaves with decent politeness, he will not only not be insulted, but will be kindly entertained wherever he goes, with a cheerful and unaffected hospitality.

On these unknown coasts, shipwrecks must sometimes happen: And, in all cases of that nature, the mariners are not only saved, where it can possibly be done, and kindly entertained; but their property is secured and preserved, with a degree of care that reflects the highest honour upon the natives. Many instances of this kind I heard of incidentally when on that coast, and since;—a few of which I shall beg leave to mention, in confirmation of the character I have given of the people.

During the late war, a ship from Liverpool, which had received considerable damage at sea, put in to the harbour of Loch-Tarbat in Harris: And as the master found it was not safe to proceed to sea without receiving considerable repairs, which could not there be had, he found himself obliged to leave the ship and cargo, till he should go to Liverpool, to receive instructions from his owners. All the hands went with him except *one*, whom he prevailed on to stay in the ship, to take care of the cargo. There she lay for nearly the space of two years, under the care of this single man, without sustaining the smallest loss, either by violence or pilfering.

During last winter 1784-5, a vessel navigated by Danish seamen (I think), who were entire strangers to the coast, having touched on a rock west of Icolmkill, afraid of sinking,

took



in such manufactures as the nature of their country, and the situation in which they are placed, can admit of.

From

took to their boat, and made for that island, leaving the vessel, with sails set, to drive with the wind and tide. Some of the natives, seeing the vessels rolling without being under proper management, put off to the ship, and, finding nobody on board, took possession of her, and carried her safely into Loch-Scriidan in Mull. The mariners seeing their vessel safely moored, went and claimed her, and without hesitation or dispute obtained full possession, without any salvage or other charge being made, save a few shillings to the men who brought her in. The ship and cargo were then entrusted to the farmer of the land adjoining to the port she lay in, who, for a very trifling consideration, insured the whole cargo to the owners, and delivered it over to their order, several months afterwards, entirely complete, and in good order.—Another vessel was put ashore about the same time, on the island of Coll; the cargo of which was in like manner saved and preserved without any pecuniary gratification, by Mr. McLean, the hospitable chief and laird of that island.

About the same time, two large American vessels belonging to Clyde, went ashore on the island of Islay;—one of them contained on board ten thousand pounds in specie. As these vessels were not under management, merely because of the great sickness and lassitude of the crews, tho' the weather was not tempestuous,—the cargoes were taken out, and placed along the shores, in the best way they could;—the vessels were then got off—and, when the articles of the two cargoes were collected together, there was not any thing amissing, save one single barrel of tar, which had probably been hove overboard, and lost thro' carelessness.—But the most singular instance of the kind I met with, was the following:—

Several



## INTRODUCTION. 17

From this detail, it will not, I hope, appear in the least surprising, that the fisheries never yet should have been carried on to great extent upon the coasts of Scotland: Nor will there be any just ground for urging this circumstance as

Several years ago, a vessel from Ireland, laden with linen-yarn, was stranded in Islay. The weather happened to come easy afterwards, so that the cargo was got out; but as it was drenched in salt water, it became necessary to have the whole well washed in fresh water, to take out the salt. This was done in a river that was near, and the yarn was spread abroad for many days, along an extensive links (downs) to dry.—Many hundreds of persons were employed in this work for several weeks, not one of whom had not linen-yarn at home, for that is the staple manufacture of the island; so that the temptation for embezzlement was very great, as a discovery, in these circumstances, would have been extremely difficult; yet, when the whole was collected together, to the utter astonishment of all the parties concerned, a very few hanks only of the yarn, (about five or six to the best of my remembrance), value about two or three shillings, were wanting.—I gladly record these instances of honesty and friendly care of the unfortunate; as the natives of those islands and coasts pique themselves on maintaining an immaculate character in that respect, and I think it would be both cruel and unjust not to allow them full credit for it. I would not, however, insinuate, that every individual on these coasts is proof against all temptations; but I think I may very confidently assert, that in no part of the world, would a man who had the misfortune to suffer shipwreck, have a better chance to meet with every possible assistance, than there, or at a smaller expence.

## x INTRODUCTION.

an argument against the probability of their succeeding, whenever they shall be fairly tried. I need only farther observe on this head, that the attempts which from time to time have been made by the British Parliament to encourage those fisheries, have produced laws so ill adapted to the state of the country, and the circumstances of the people, as rather to repress the business they were intended to promote, than to encourage it.—This will appear more fully from the circumstances stated in the following Report, to which I here refer. So that our want of success hitherto in that business, affords no sort of proof that we may not be able to carry it on with the greatest success, at a future period; It only proves, that a perfect knowledge of the circumstances of the case is necessary, before laws can be made, effectually to promote any measure that may be under contemplation.

Changes in the circumstances of a country, are frequently attended with disagreeable effects to the present inhabitants, even where these changes are evidently calculated at last to promote their general prosperity: For, between the time that former occupations must be abandoned, and new employments adopted, there

is

is a period of doubt and uncertainty, which is productive of much distress to individuals, by exciting anxiety, distrust, and discontent. In all cases of that kind, it becomes the duty of a humane and well-informed Legislature, to be peculiarly attentive to the people who find themselves in these circumstances, and to facilitate the change, by adopting such regulations as may tend to mitigate the evils that arise from these causes. This is the rule that prudence and benevolence would prescribe; but unfortunately the peculiarities of a popular form of government, are ill calculated to forward such measures.—National prejudices, when once imbibed, are slowly, and with great difficulty, eradicated; so that ruinous projects, which have once become favourite objects with the multitude, are long pursued with a blind obstinacy that cannot be diverted; and unfavourable prejudices are adhered to long after the circumstances that gave rise to these prejudices are totally removed. At a period not extremely remote, the natives of England, we have seen, thought they had reason to believe that the inhabitants of the Highlands of Scotland were a set of men disaffected to Government, averse to labour, and impatient of all lawful subor-

subordination. They believed the men to be little better than a lawless banditti, and their country an inhospitable desert, incapable of cultivation, or of ever becoming the seat of commerce, of industry, or arts; and therefore turned from it with aversion. They have not observed the change that has of late taken place in all these respects; and the natives, discouraged by neglect, and overawed by those severities inflicted on many of their chiefs, have been afraid to put in their well-founded claim to national attention, lest they should be accused of misrepresentation from interested natives, and meet with obloquy, instead of support.—They have thus been suffered to remain neglected and unknown; and while the most distant parts of the globe have been attentively explored, with a view to discover new sources of trade, and to give encouragement for the manufactures of Britain, those territories, which are so peculiarly our own, and which are much better calculated to encrease the trade, to encourage the manufactures, and to augment the revenues of this nation, than any others that have ever yet been discovered on the globe, have been suffered to remain unknown and unexplored; so that the greatest part of the inhabitants



bitants of this island, are nearly as well acquainted with the nature and present state of Japan; as they are with those countries here treated of; tho' they are perhaps the most valuable appendages of the British Crown.

It is many years since the obvious importance of these neglected regions, attracted the particular notice of the Writer of this performance; and he published his thoughts on that subject in the year 1777, in a Treatise, intitled, *Observations on the means of exciting a spirit of national industry, &c.*—He once more touched on this subject, in an Essay he offered to the Public in the end of the year 1780, intitled, *The interest of Great Britain with respect to her American Colonies considered*; in which he had occasion to show, that the nation had in vain expected, for some centuries past, to derive advantages from its Transatlantic dominions, which it never did, and never could obtain, while it neglected treasures of a more valuable kind, that long had been in her sole possession.—The subject once more obtruded itself upon him, on the close of the late war, which he considered as a most favourable opportunity for bringing this subject under the public notice: He therefore compiled a Treatise, intitled, *A proposal for establishing the*



*Northern British Fisheries ; in which the circumstances that have hitherto frustrated every attempt to establish these fisheries are investigated, and measures suggested by which these obstructions may be removed, &c.* This Treatise was printed for the perusal of his friends ; but was not published, as he considered himself not sufficiently instructed in all particulars relating to it, never having been on the coasts where the fisheries can be chiefly carried on, in person ; and therefore justly suspecting that he might be unacquainted with many local facts, which it was of much importance should be known, before a decided judgment on this subject could be formed. This Treatise was printed in the year 1783 ; and having attracted the notice of some public-spirited men, the Writer was applied to in the beginning of the year 1784, to see if he would incline to undertake a voyage along those coasts, with a view to obtain the information on that subject, which he seemed to think was of so much importance. To this proposal he readily assented ; and having obtained an order from the Treasury for one of the King's cutters to attend him on that expedition, he proceeded on it with alacrity.—The following *Report* to the Lords of the Treasury, with the Illustrations,

## INTRODUCTION.

xv

tions that accompany it, contain an abstract of the observations he there made. Many of those who shall take the trouble to read that Report, will probably be disposed to think, that he has taken the liberty commonly ascribed to travelers, of representing things rather as they wish they should be, than as they really are:—And he will not deny, that from the idea he had conceived of those regions, he would himself have been much disposed to put that construction on a similar Report, made by one with whose character he was unacquainted. This circumstance, however, did not prevent him from making his Report with fidelity and freedom; not in the least doubting, but that future observers, and long experience, will fully confirm his remarks. On this head he will only farther beg leave to make two remarks, which he wishes may be attended to by those who shall have occasion to examine those regions in future. The first is, that the Writer hereof, having made agriculture and rural affairs a principal study from his earliest infancy, by thus being more able to judge of the facility of improving some uncultivated soils, and the efficacy for that purpose of the means that are within reach, than others will be who have not so particularly attended to this subject,

subject, he has; in all probability, been induced to form a more favourable opinion of some districts, than those would do who are only capable of judging from the beauty of the present appearance of the fields.—The other observation is of a similar nature, with regard to the inhabitants. Those who judge of mankind from their external appearance—or those who never have adverted to the peculiar vices and defects that necessarily originate from peculiar circumstances—or those who do not endeavour to divest themselves of the prejudices they have derived from education, and that locality of thinking which every man imperceptibly imbibes from the conversation of those with whom he is most familiar,—will be apt to form a judgment of those people extremely different from that entertained by him, and will perhaps be shocked at many peculiarities as crimes, which he considers merely as misfortunes necessarily arising from the circumstances in which they find themselves placed.—These remarks premised, he consigns the Report to the Public, without the smallest degree of anxiety or solicitude on his own account.

Tho' it will be readily admitted on all hands, that the British fishery is an object of great national

great national importance, and therefore ought to be very liberally encouraged by the Public: yet he has reason to fear, that the minds of his countrymen are not even now so much enlightened as to enable them distinctly to perceive the full importance of that object; and he believes, that till certain popular prejudices have gradually subsided, it will be in vain to expect that this object will obtain all the attention it deserves, or that the people will be able to judge of the measures that would tend most effectually to accomplish the end in view. — From these considerations, he conceives the establishment of the fisheries will be a work of time, and that all which can be expected at present, is to lay the sure foundation of a superstructure, that may, by slow and gradual steps, become at last a great and very important object.

That the Reader may in some measure enter into his ideas on this subject, he begs that every one who has the property of this country at heart, will for a moment reflect on the means he now possesses, of manning a navy on any sudden emergency, and of thus preserving her independence at sea, on which alone her safety, not to say her prosperity, depends. Things are much changed in this respect, from what

B

they



they were. Till the present day, our trading vessels furnished a ready supply of seamen whenever they were wanted.—In former times, if a seaman spake the English language, few enquiries were necessary to discover if he was a British subject.—But now the case is altered. On the rumour of a war, nothing will be more easy than for British seamen to obtain an attestation that they are subjects of the States of America, or natives of Ireland; and it is not for a press-gang to enter into nice investigations to discover whether these allegations are well or ill founded. Hence it is easy to foresee, that so many mistakes will happen in this respect, as to give room for loud clamour, which must either be appeased by great concessions, or it will bring about a breach between the nations. By consequence, the present practice of pressing from trading vessels, must be so much fettered as not to answer the purpose it used formerly to serve; and therefore, till another more eligible and effectual mode of suddenly manning a fleet on any emergency shall be discovered, our only certain resource will be the *resident* fishermen upon our own coasts, and the seamen to whom the merchandise furnished by these fisheries give employment. On the

the number, therefore, of these fishermen, our safety alone depends: and we may deem it peculiarly fortunate for us, that we have it in our power to augment the number of this most necessary class of citizens, almost without limitation.

### DIFFICULTY IN DEVISING

*a Plan for encouraging Beginning Enterprises.*

But, tho' it will appear from the following elucidations, that Nature has been wonderfully kind to our island in this respect, it will at the same time be evident, that she has hitherto been very little assisted by art or human ingenuity: And tho' it will also appear, that little money is wanted from the public fund for establishing the national fisheries, it will be also, it is believed, made sufficiently clear, that much circumspection, and no ordinary degree of cautious attention, is necessary, to set things into a proper train in this respect—particulars these, that in a nation like this, can be with much less certainty commanded than money itself.

In human affairs, things are often so closely linked together, and they have so intimate an effect upon each other, that it is a matter of very great difficulty to distinguish the cause

from the effect, or to perceive which is the first principle of motion that gives life and energy to the whole. So difficult, indeed, is it to perceive this, that perhaps no exertion of human ingenuity is sufficient fully to accomplish it: And it has been found by experience, that the most effectual mode of exciting industrious exertions among mankind, is to place them in such circumstances as enable them to find a ready market for the several articles that their industry can obtain, or their ingenuity discover, and then to leave individuals, under very few restrictions, to find out the way in which they can most benefit themselves by their several exertions. But this mode of procedure is so little calculated to flatter the pride of man, which is always vain of dictating rules of conduct for others, that it is seldom adopted save from necessity or accident. This is one of the principal reasons why we see so many fruitless national attempts to establish certain arts or manufactures in particular districts in Europe.

The Writer of this work is so fully convinced that the establishment of the fisheries on our own coasts, have been prevented merely by a want of attention to this important circumstance, that he is very anxious it should now be  
parti-

particularly attended to: And if he can produce arguments which shall convince the Reader of its great importance, he will not despair of seeing this nation not only recover from her present abasement, but be able at some future period to make a figure among the nations, far more respectable and glorious than she ever did in former times.

## DETACHED HAMLETS.

*Consequences of People living in them.*

In the Hebrides, and along the western coasts of Scotland, which are occupied by many hundred thousand inhabitants, unless it be at Stornoway in Lewis, and Bowmore in Islay, there is not perhaps a place without the Mull of Cantire, where there are a dozen of houses together:—very few, indeed, are found but in scattered hamlets only. A necessary consequence is, that no trade can there be carried on. Hence, no person can obtain from others the manufactures he stands in need of, or the tools that are necessary for carrying on any operation he finds might otherways be naturally within his reach. It follows also, from the same cause, that no man can dispose of any article of produce that his industry might enable him



him to obtain. His views, therefore, must be confined merely to the obtaining such necessities as come within his reach, for the subsistence of himself, and those who have an immediate dependence on him. Whatever he could get more, would be to him, mere superfluous lumber not worth the trouble of procuring. But as those who thus labour for their own subsistence merely from day to day, can never be induced to provide superfluous stores, they never can be prepared against those vicissitudes of seasons that frequently occur, and must therefore be, in all such emergencies, exposed to the most poignant distress. It thus happens, that poverty and indolence to the people, are the unavoidable consequences of a want of market for the produce of labour in every part of the world. Nor would the most fertile soil, or the greatest abundance of those things that might in other circumstances serve to accumulate wealth, produce the smallest change on the circumstances of the people: For, till the nature of man be totally changed, nothing but the probable certainty of being able to better his condition, will ever induce him to submit to the trouble of labour and bodily fatigue,

One necessary consequence of the total want of markets in a country, is, that the communication between one part of the country and another must be in a great measure cut off; as the intercourse will be only casual and precarious. Commodities, therefore, cannot be easily conveyed from place to place. Every kind of traffic or interchange of necessaries among the people, must be stopped, or clogged with such a multiplicity of obstructions and accumulated expences, as to crush in the bud every attempt at a beginning commerce. — Whereas, in a country abounding with market-towns, the communication between them is so steady and uninterrupted, that individuals can at all times travel from the one to the other with ease, safety and expedition, and at a trifling expence. So that men whose business it is, can easily make themselves acquainted with the situation and circumstances of the neighbouring places, and can with certainty learn the wants and improvements of the other.

Among other distressful consequences of this dispersion of the people, is the want of regular and quick intelligence between places by means of letters conveyed by post. This instance affords

us a striking example of the intimate connection that subsists between different branches of business, and their reciprocal influence and dependence on each other, without being able to trace a first cause from an effect. Where men live in detached hamlets, commerce, it has been shewn, can scarcely have a beginning. Where commerce does not prevail, men have no opportunity of having any continued communication with those at a distance, so that their comparative situation and wants cannot be known. In these circumstances, were regular conveyances by post attempted, the impossibility that each individual would find of benefiting himself by that conveyance, would prevent him from making use of it. The expence of the post-office would be certain, and the returns from it trifling and precarious. The public, to save that expence, would refuse to establish a regular post in those regions; and, in consequence of that want, every attempt to begin an infant commerce by any enterprising individual, would be stifled in the bud. The countries, which are in this manner cut off from the rest of the world, are thus doomed to remain perpetually unknown, and by consequence neglected and despised by all mankind.

## INTRODUCTION.

xxx

It is of much importance that this circumstance should be duly attended to by those who wish to promote the improvement of those countries, so valuable, and so much neglected, which form the object of our present investigation;—and therefore I must beg the Reader's indulgence, while I try to render every particular relating to it as obvious as possible.—It has been just now remarked, that, “*in these circumstances, were regular conveyances by post attempted, the impossibility that each individual would find in benefiting himself by that conveyance, would prevent him from making use of it.*” To understand the full import of this remark, it is only necessary to observe, that where every house is a separate hamlet, the post-office, wherever it should be established, must of necessity be at a great distance from almost every individual habitation; so that in case of a letter coming occasionally to any person, it must either be sent from the post-office to his own house *by express*, or be allowed to lie there till some chance person happened to come from that person's neighbourhood to call at the post-office. In that case, correspondence must be both tedious and expensive, and by consequence burthensome to the people.

Nor



## xxvi INTRODUCTION.

Nor could the benefits that would accrue from this correspondence, be in any measure equivalent to the trouble and expence. When one writes to a correspondent in a town on business, he may be said in a great measure to write to the whole community there assembled; as the person who receives the letter can easily inform himself of all particulars concerning the branch of business he follows, that occur in that place. — But the case is widely different in corresponding with detached individuals, in the situation supposed. In that case, each person knows only his own affairs, with regard to which alone he can give a satisfactory answer. So that before a man could get information equally satisfactory as from his single correspondent in town, he would find it necessary to write, perhaps some hundreds of letters, which would have occasion to be addressed to as many different persons, whose names or circumstances no stranger could ever have an opportunity of knowing. — From these considerations it is plain, that were there a community which consisted even of myriads of souls, if it should so happen that these were all dispersed through the country in separate hamlets, the expence of a regular post-office never could be paid by them. —

## INTRODUCTION. xxvii

Therefore, whatever their circumstances were, these must remain unknown to all the world. Whatever treasures they possessed, these treasures must continue, as diamonds in an unopened mine, useless to all mankind. No regular intelligence could there take place. No mutual knowledge of the circumstances of distant parts could be obtained. No commerce carried on, but at a most wonderful disadvantage to all the parties concerned.

Such is, in a great measure, the present state of those countries of which I now treat; and the inhabitants severely experience the unavoidable distress that their situation exposes them to. The fact referred to in the notes, which consists with my own certain knowledge, will shew how much they suffer at present from these evils.

One  
It has been already said, that unless it be at Stornoway in Lewis, and Bowmore in Islay, there is nothing like a town in any of the islands of the Hebrides beyond the Mull of Cantire. At these two places, are established post offices; so that from thence, intelligence, tho' tardy, may be conveyed to and from the metropolis. Post-offices have also been of late established in Skye and in Mull; which, for the reasons above assigned, are a burthen upon the revenue. To the extensive islands of Uist, Harris, &c. which contain a numerous people, and where are many safe and spacious harbours, no post-office at all has ever been established;  
and

## xcviii INTRODUCTION.

One inconvenience follows so closely upon the heels of another in this investigation, that it is tiresome, though exceedingly necessary, to point them out.—A custom-house, like a post-office, cannot be established in a country where the inhabitants live in detached single hamlets: for, where no commerce exists, the expence of a custom-house cannot be defrayed; and where no custom-house is established, according to the present system of laws in Britain, no sort of trade can possibly be carried on. Thus do we

per-  
and even where posts are established, these communicate only with other places through the metropolis.—So that a letter from Skye to Lewis, the direct distance but a few leagues, if sent by post, must travel above 1200 miles before it can reach the place of destination.

Mr. M'Donald of Boisdale, one of the proprietors of South Uist, a man of judgement and enterprise, has so severely experienced the want of a regular conveyance of intelligence to and from his own island, that he wished, if possible, to remove this inconvenience. He requested me to accompany him to the Postmaster-General of Scotland; to whom, after stating the inconveniences to which his people were subjected from the want of a post-office, and mentioning in particular several instances of ships belonging to Liverpool, Bristol, and other ports, that had been obliged to put into these harbours in distress, where they have lain many months without having it in their power to send any intelligence to their owners, so that they have been given up for lost, and insurance done upon them at exceeding high rates, when they

## INTRODUCTION. xxix

perpetually return to our endless circle of causes and effects, reciprocally acting upon, and influenced by the other. A solitary individual, living in a remote island, or say that two or three should so far unite as to be able to produce some article that might be sent to market, wherever they can find it,—before they dare ship this article to be carried any where, they must comply with the regulations of the custom-house, or forfeit vessel and cargo. To go to the custom-house to obtain a clearance, would, if they were lying in as perfect safety as if they had been in the wet dock at Liverpool—After mentioning these and other similar cases, pointing out in the strongest manner, the utility or necessity of a regular post to and from thence, he concluded with entreating, that a packet-boat might be established to that island; and, as an inducement to it, he offered to become bound, at the end of three years from the establishment of the packet, to make up himself whatever loss Government should have incurred (if any) by that establishment. This Gentleman is in affluent circumstances, and perfectly able to implement, on his part, this agreement, if accepted—But tho' the Post-master saw the utility of the proposal, and much approved of the measure, he said it belonged to him only to represent the case (which he should do), but it was the province of others to determine. He expressed a doubt approaching to a certainty, that the requisition would not be complied with; nor do I hear that the establishment has been made.—Such are the obstructions that perpetually crush the beginning attempts at improvements in those regions.

in



### xxx INTRODUCTION.

in many cases, cost an expence greater than the value of the cargo. This cannot be done, and a final stop must be put to this beginning attempt at industry and commerce.—Is it possible for any man to think of these bars that perpetually come in the way to shackle the hand of industry, and not to pity the hard lot of those who are so cruelly subjected to them!

These are radical evils, which so effectually tend to counteract a beginning exertion, that no laws, however favourably contrived, could over-rule their influence; because, the evil of which we here chiefly complain, is, that the people, in these circumstances, are beyond the influence of all laws. While they shall therefore be suffered to remain in that state, it is vain to think that they can be essentially benefited by any regulations whatever. That the mere dispersion of the people, is alone sufficient to repress a rising spirit of industry, will appear evident to any one who will take the trouble to observe what would be the necessary effect of that dispersion, in any particular case he chooses to try. The following attempt will put him in a train to think of others, which, it is believed, must all lead to the same conclusion.

The

## INTRODUCTION. xxx

The want of capital for carrying on business, is the particular most generally complained of, whenever any exertion tending towards improvement is spoke of.—How is that deficiency most likely to be supplied? Is it not by inducing strangers who have capital, to employ it in those regions?—But, how is it possible for any stranger to employ his capital in a country so situated as this is, were he ever so much disposed to do it? He cannot go to settle there himself; for, instead of being able to live in a comfortable manner, as a man who has a capital will always expect to do, he must banish himself into a solitary retreat, where he neither can enjoy society, nor have information of anything concerning business. It is the hopes of rapid profits alone, and great returns from his capital, that could induce a man to put himself into such a situation.—But what are his chances of profit there? If he attempts to employ his stock in the mercantile line, what are his prospects? He must, in the first place, order for himself, a whole ship-load of goods, from some one place; for, he can have no chance of getting a small parcel for a separate freight by itself: He must go to the custom-house,—bring an officer to his own home, at a great expence,

to

to discharge the cargo\*, and probably be obliged to allow the vessel to return in ballast, without freight. The outlay here is great:—what is his chance of returns? Few people are in his near neighbourhood; and of these few, a very small number can afford to pay for any part of the commodities he has obtained. He must sell them out in small parcels, by a slow and languid retail; in the doing of which, many of the perishable commodities must be lost. He must even be reduced to dispose of them to a parcel of poor people, scattered through a wide country, on credit, in small and pitiful quantities. When payments are wanted, he cannot call them in by letter; for, no letters can be sent by post, to the separate houses of individuals. He has no resource, but to go in person, or to send another expressly on purpose: the chance is a thousand to one, that the people have not money to answer his demands, and he possesses no means of enforcing payments. Were he to attempt to force it by law, the seat of justice is at such a

\* I have been assured, that, in these islands, the expence of the customhouse-officer to discharge a cargo of coals, amounts, in many cases, to more than four times the duty on the coals, and if the cargo be small, it will sometimes be more than double the prime cost of the coals.

distance,

distance, that the course of all legal proceedings in small matters, must in some measure be suspended. The expence at any rate is enormous; and the risk that he himself must bear that expence, is very great. His returns therefore must be slow, and wonderfully precarious.— But quick returns, and prompt payments, are the only circumstances that ensure profit in trade, with a small capital. A man, therefore, who meant to make profit of his capital, and who knew how to employ it otherwise, never could think of employing it there; as he must have much greater difficulties to encounter, an infinitely vexatious course of business to conduct, and much smaller returns from his capital, than in any other situation he could have chosen. Instead of attracting capitals to those regions, therefore, every circumstance concurs to make any small capitals that may chance to be among the people, be gradually withdrawn from thence, in proportion as their knowledge encreases:— For, experience soon shews them, that a man living in a place where he can deal at all times with men of known credit, has, on every emergency, the full command of the utmost farthing of his stock, whenever it may be wanted, which he can thus turn a thousand ways to his own

C

profit



profit and emolument. Till such time, therefore, as the people in those regions can enjoy the same advantages, instead of being able to draw capital from other places, their own capital, as it is at any time slowly acquired, must gradually be withdrawn from them; and poor, in that situation, they must always remain, under every system of laws that the genius of man can invent.

Such being the unavoidable consequences of allowing a people to remain wholly in detached hamlets, we ought not to be surprised at the poverty of the people in those regions, nor at the indolence imputed to them. They are indeed industrious; but that industry is unavailing.—They make great exertions; but these exertions tend not to remove their poverty. Is it a wonder, if, in these circumstances, they should sometimes think of moving to happier abodes?—Let us now enquire what changes would be produced there, were the people collected into villages and towns.

### LARGE AND SMALL TOWNS

*compared with regard to their effects on Society.*

MAN owes his superiority over other animals entirely to society. To the united efforts alone

of

of many individuals, exerted to produce one effect, he owes his power—To the accumulated store of facts collected by the attention of many observers, he owes his knowledge. When detached from all others, his mind, like his body, is weak; and it is made to bend, without effort, to every superior power that is calculated to overawe the individual. Hence it is found, that that degree of personal independence which constitutes what is generally called *political freedom*, can be found only in those places where men mingle in society; and where the minds of men exalted by communicating with others, come to be gradually expanded, till they acquire an idea of their own united power and importance.—Slavery, on the other hand, is found only to prevail (without the perpetual exertions of constraining power) where the people are divided into scattered families, that do not admit of a social intercourse. In Poland, the people submit, without repining, in their separate parts, to the will of their lord. In Russia, the inhabitants are equally solitary and servile. In the Turkish dominions, the towns (the capital alone excepted) are abandoned, and the people hide themselves in their lonely dens, each solicitous only for himself, like the original possessors

effors of the desert.—In all these countries, the people are slaves; and never entertained an idea, that they themselves possessed the power, and had an equal right to personal protection with the greatest man in the dominions.

In the Highlands of Scotland, the inhabitants, separated from each other by many natural impediments, have few opportunities of giving or receiving that mutual assistance which their several wants require. Their personal weakness they feelingly experience on many occasions, and learn to submit betimes to the hard law of necessity without repining; and having few opportunities of acquiring knowledge, being in a great measure debarred all intercourse with other parts of the world, and having no opportunity of meeting together for the purpose of deliberating on the means of promoting their common good, they have not even an idea of any means that could be devised for bettering their condition, unless it be that of freeing each individual from such payments as he finds he cannot without difficulty make good. Thus it has happened, that for many years they have submitted to the influence of laws, which, in their operation, are the most cruel and unjust that can be conceived, without ever dreaming of making

## INTRODUCTION. xxxvii

making a representation to the Legislature, of the hardships to which they were thus subjected, or even uttering a complaint that might lead to an investigation of their grievances. Would it have been possible to find a body of people half so numerous, who had opportunities of conversing and freely deliberating with one another, who would have been in the same predicament? I think not. What has been, may be again, if circumstances are allowed to remain unaltered. Were the present evils complained of removed, others equally great might spring up in their stead.—In short, till the people are placed in such circumstances as to allow their minds to act freely in exciting bodily exertions, nothing can be done to bring them into that state in society, which can entitle them to the appellation of *men* in a political sense.

If a free social intercourse be required to give the mental powers of man that vigour which is necessary before he can form an idea of civil liberty, such an intercourse is yet more necessary for giving to his *bodily* exertions that invigorating power which constitutes an active industry. Social intercourse, *in any circumstances*, may give rise to a spirit of freedom; but that society must be fixed to a particular spot,



spot, before arts and industry can flourish among the people. The ancient Scythian Nomades had some idea of civil liberty.—The Tartar Hordes, and the Arabian predatory bands, are free men, tho' they have no fixed places of abode. Among these, however, arts, and that species of bodily labour which is usually called industry, are scarcely known.—Marseilles, Venice, Genoa, Antwerp, Amsterdam, London, and other such cities, where great multitudes of men have been collected together, have ever been the parents of industry, and the places in which arts have flourished.—Arbitrary power may indeed repress industry, even in large towns; but no management can excite it, when men are placed in remote and solitary habitations. A steady market for all the products of labour, and exertions of genius, must be ever within reach, before a spirit of industry can arise among mankind; and such a market can only be found in a large town, occupied by a numerous people. As this subject has seldom been attended to so much as its importance deserves, it will not perhaps be deemed improper here to point out, with some degree of precision, the circumstances that render a large city so indispensibly necessary for awakening a spirit of industry.

When

## INTRODUCTION. xxxix

When a number of people live together in one place, they necessarily create employment for each other, and thus establish a market for the products of their labour. The smith, the mason, the carpenter, the taylor, the baker, the clothier, the merchant, &c. all become purchasers of shoes; and the shoemaker, in his turn, becomes a customer to all the other artisans, when his wants call for their assistance. Thus all contribute to the support of each; which excites a certain degree of industry, even without any external aid.

A market is thus opened for the product of labour; but, in small communities, that market will be languid and unsteady, in comparison of what takes place in the same way among a more numerous society. A small number of people can give employment only for that kind of labour which is *indispensibly* necessary, and all other arts of convenience only must be forborn. But, even *necessary* arts, where the customers are few, are subjected to many discouragements, which they would not feel in a larger community. Were as many people, for example, assembled together in one place, as would give employment to *one* shoemaker only, many inconveniences would be felt, both by the purchasers

chasers and the artisan, which would greatly abridge their enjoyment, and retard improvement. If a pair of shoes were made for one man, which did not fit him, they must be returned to the shoemaker, who might be long before he could find a purchaser for these shoes; perhaps they would not fit any one of his customers; and he must at last be obliged to sell them below prime cost. Thus would he be subjected to inconvenience, and to loss; which would diminish his profit, even tho' his work should be high-charged; And the person for whom these shoes were made, would be obliged to go without any, till another pair could be got ready.

In such a situation, too, it will often happen, that five or six, or more persons, may all want shoes at one time, when the poor shoemaker will be hurried beyond measure, and the customers will be subjected to inconvenience by delay. At another time, no shoes will be called for, and the shoemaker be laid idle, not knowing for whom he should make any, and having no market for those that are not particularly ordered.

To indemnify himself for these losses, he may perhaps take advantage of the necessities of  
the

the people, and charge higher prices, or make his work worse than it ought to be; well knowing that he can have no competitor, as there is not work for another to settle in the same place. So that unless he becomes altogether intolerable, and disoblige all the people so much as to make them with one accord desert him and call another, they must be content to bear with the inconveniences they suffer, as it is not an easy matter to help themselves; for no man eminent in his profession, will choose to go to such a place.

But, should the artist be ever so much disposed to act a conscientious part, his customers will be but ill served; for, in that case, the same person must make shoes for women and for men, for rich and for poor. And as no one person can perform these different kinds of work equally well, it must of necessity happen, that some of them at least will be ill made: possibly they may be *all* imperfect in comparison of what they might have been, tho' they will be higher-priced than otherways would have been necessary.

In a large place, all these inconveniences would be obviated: for, as many men of one business can there find abundant employment, it becomes necessary for each to recommend himself



himself to his customers, by a civil deportment and reasonable charge. If the manufacturer acts thus, he will there always find a retailer ready to take his goods and pay for them as they are finished; so that he can go to market with money in his hand, and purchase materials at the lowest price possible. Every man in these circumstances, is at liberty to work constantly at the same kind of work, without ever putting his hand to any other.—One man, for example, betakes himself to the making of *fine* ladies shoes, and bestows his whole attention to the doing them up in the neatest manner, of the finest materials; and he finds it his interest to excel all others, if possible, in the delicacy and elegance of his work, without regard to the price; as he meets with many persons who are satisfied to purchase them from him.—Another finds as constant employment in making firm and durable work, fitted for the use of men of moderate fortunes; and he, by paying continual attention to that branch of business, acquires a knowledge of the materials to be employed, and a skill in the manner of joining them in work, that he never could have obtained but by an extensive business and an unvaried attention to one single point.—And a third

third finds an equal demand for slight goods, which he learns to vamp up at a price surprisingly low.—In short, let the goods be of what kind you please, in a large place, if the price be proportioned to their value, they will suit the taste and circumstances of some kind of purchasers, and therefore find a ready sale; so that the artisan is enabled to proceed in his business without interruption or anxiety: And, by the superior dexterity he thus acquires, and the choice of materials constantly within his reach, he is enabled to live well, tho' he demands a smaller price for his goods than others can afford them for; which opens a door to foreign trade, that gives a still farther degree of steadiness to the market.

The same observations may be made with regard to every business that can be named; so that even the arts of indispensable utility, must be carried on in a far less perfect manner, in a small, than in a large place; and a great many other arts must be wholly neglected †.

Thus,

† Not only do men acquire a wonderful dexterity in mechanical arts, in consequence of the division of labour, and assigning the several operations to different artists, which can only take place in those situations where manufactures can be carried on upon a large scale: But the connection of one manufacture is often such with another, as that neither can be carried

Thus, for example, a very few people will furnish employment to a shoemaker or a taylor; but a considerable number must be collected together before employment for a baker can be found: More still are wanted, to find good business to a public brewer. But, till these are established, each family must practise those businesses to great disadvantage at home.—A more numerous society still is wanted, to give employment to a watch-maker or gun-smith, for

ried on separately with the profit they might be together. A soap-maker can scarcely carry on business, without being connected with a candle-maker, nor can he do it with the utmost economy, unless a glass-maker lives in the neighbourhood; for, as it is difficult to extract the *whole* of the alkali from his ashes, part of it remains among the lime. On account of that small portion of alkali, this lime becomes a useful flux to the glass-maker, which he therefore gladly purchases at a price much greater than can be given for it by others. Those soap-makers, therefore, who are at a distance from a glass-house, must forego this advantage; and therefore cannot come into competition with others who have that advantage, if they be in other respects equal.

The most beautiful illustration of the doctrine here inculcated, that I have met with, is afforded by the following very curious state of facts, for which I am indebted to the Rev. Dr Tucker, Dean of Gloucester. I give it as nearly as I can in his own words:—One day at Bristol, the Dean observed a London tea-merchant; and as there was an eminent cabinet-maker of Bristol present, he asked if he could make tea-chests at Bristol

## INTRODUCTION. xlv

for want of which many inconveniences may be felt. Smiths, carpenters, joiners, &c. who are eminent in their several professions, can only find sufficient encouragement among large communities, to which places they of necessity resort; and of course it is there only that the working-tools of other artists can be properly made or repaired when out of order, which gives to the large place another great advantage over the small one.

But,

Bristol as cheap as they were sold for at London? which the cabinet-maker answered in the negative. How should that be, said the Dean? Have you not both the wood and labour cheaper here than at London? Is not the mahogany often carried from hence to London by land; so that all that expence, which is considerable, must be added to the price, besides the profit on passing through different hands?—All this is very true, replied the mechanic; yet notwithstanding, the London tea-chest-maker can buy his wood cheaper than here. At London, continued he, where the making of tea-chests is a separate trade, the artist never purchases wood from a wood-merchant: He goes to the shop of one of those extensive cabinet-manufactories, where tables, chairs, and other large pieces of furniture, are made in great quantities. In such shops, it is the general practice to throw into a spare corner, all the waste pieces cut off from their work, which cannot be of any farther use for themselves. The tea-chest-maker, when he wants wood, goes to that heap, and picks out such pieces as he thinks can answer his purpose—These pieces he throws aside into a separate heap; and when he has got the quantity he wants at the time,



## xlvi INTRODUCTION.

But, let the place be ever so large, without the aid of commerce, the market will still be circumscribed in comparison of what it might be, and many arts could not there be practised at all. A manufacturer of *pins* cannot carry on business at the cheapest rate, unless he can dispose of eighteen thousand at least in a day†.—

time, he bargains for the price; which is usually a trifle, perhaps not nearly one fourth part of the price it would have cost him had he bought the wood in whole plank, at the same time that it is much fitter for his purpose than it otherwise would have been.—Here is one very material article in saving; but the great matter is the superior dexterity that a man acquires in this branch of business in consequence of his adhering to it continually, which ensures him a living profit, tho' the goods are afforded at a smaller price than others could furnish them for. I was, said the cabinet-maker, witness to the decision of a wager, which will put this matter in a very clear point of view:—One of these London tea-chest-makers undertook to put together a tea-chest compleatly during the time St Paul's clock struck twelve. Accordingly, at an appointed day, the parties met; the detached parts of the tea-chest were all spread upon a table; and when the clock struck the first stroke, the artist began to put them together; and before the clock had done striking, the tea-chest was put together compleatly, and they key turned in the lock. This, said he, I saw with my own eyes; and he added, that he doubted if the best hand in his shop would have done the same thing in less than half-an-hour.

† See the following Report, page 19th, Note.

But,

But, it must be a pretty large place which would afford a daily sale for such a quantity: Nor could the inhabitants be certain that they would be *well* served, unless they could purchase at least twice that quantity daily; for they could not otherwise have the advantage of a competition, which alone can ensure goods of proper value. This manufacture, therefore, can only be carried on where commerce offers a ready market, not only for eighteen thousand pins a day, but for eighteen hundred times that quantity if you please. Trade, therefore, is necessary for encouraging manufactures.

On another account still is trade of the most indispensable utility to manufactures; because, it is by means of trade alone, that a plentiful market can be obtained of the various materials necessarily wanted for the different manufactures which minister to the wants of man. If, therefore, it shall appear, that trade can never flourish but in very large places, this will be another reason for showing how essentially necessary these are for the prosperity of any country.

In a large place, there is a constant internal demand for great quantities of every production and manufacture in the world; and scope is thus given for mercantile transactions on the most

most extensive scale. A man of great capital may find constant employment, and may, without hesitation, purchase great quantities of any kind of goods in any market where they are found to be cheapest, and bring them directly home, being sure of getting them all quickly disposed of. In a small place, this cannot be done. Extensive dealings cannot be carried on. Goods can only be procured, in *small* quantities proportioned to the sales, from places to which a trade for other articles is carried on. They can only thus, in many cases, be bought at the third or fourth hand, to make up a small assortment for a cargo. They must therefore be both dearer, and of a worse quality, than they can be had for in the large place; which subjects the inhabitants, especially manufacturers, to many hardships, that tend to repress their labour, and make their industry unavailing.

Another consequence that necessarily flows from the former, is, that in a large place, merchants are there established, who trade to all parts of the globe; and of course they have ready opportunities of sending every kind of produce or manufacture that is offered to them, to the most proper market for that commodity *directly*: and therefore, they can not only

## INTRODUCTION. xlix

only afford to buy it, whatever it is, at its adequate value, but are at all times willing to purchase such commodities in any quantity that may be offered, without hesitation. In a small place, no such thing can be done; and many things of value must there be lost, because no merchant can be found to purchase them.

A third consequence naturally results from the former two, which is equally favourable for the larger town. It is this—Merchants abroad, knowing that a ready market can here be found for all commodities, whenever they find a market overstocked with any one article, and its price of course low there, purchase that commodity at the very lowest rate, and send it thither to be disposed of for their account:—And as these merchants always find in this large mart, the precise goods that they can dispose of to the best account in the places where they reside, or to which they trade, they are frequently enabled to sell the commodity they send thither at a lower price than it could be afforded for at the place it was originally purchased, on account of the profits that may be made on the goods obtained in return.—But nothing of this kind can take place in a smaller town. No cargoes can be sent to it from other

D

places,



## 1. INTRODUCTION.

places, but such as are immediately wanted there: nor can anything be obtained in return, but the native productions of the place.

In consequence of the ready sale that is thus offered for every kind of commodity in a larger place, goods of all kinds are continually poured in upon it from all sides, in great quantities. The number of vehicles, either by land or water, going and returning from it continually, makes carriage to it cheap and easy for individuals, which gives infinite advantages to the inhabitants and manufacturers of that place, over others who inhabit a smaller place. Internal commerce therefore is, in the case of a large town, facilitated as much in proportion as foreign trade, when compared with a smaller place, so that every thing conspires to add to the prosperity of the large town, while they are unfavourable to the small place.

For example—the distance between London and Gravesend is twenty miles; but the intercourse between these places is so frequent, that any person can have an opportunity of being conveyed to the one or the other twice in the course of twenty-four hours, without trouble or forecast on his part, and at the small charge of one shilling each time; whereas in the Hebrides, or any other such place where no towns are established, a voyage to an equal distance cannot be made without a great deal of previous preparation, and at an expence and risk perhaps a hundred times greater than here.

We

We are thus led to perceive, that the benefits which result to the community from the establishing large towns in any nation, are not confined to the towns themselves, but also diffuse their beneficial influences to a great distance around them. The country in the neighbourhood, becomes populous and manufacturing;—for, here, the people have at their hand a ready market at all times, and of course ready money for every thing that their labour can furnish, and abundant supplies of all that their wants demand, at reasonable prices.—Agriculture, too,—which, in every country destitute of large towns, must be a menial employment, necessarily carried on upon a small scale, which puts a bar to every great exertion in that line,—becomes, in these circumstances, a great business, which gives employment for large capitals, and extensive operations. The business here, to compare it with mercantile affairs, may be carried on in the *wholesale* way, instead of that little *retail* business which must necessarily take place where the demand for the products are small and precarious. A farmer, in these circumstances, becomes a respectable member of society, and is enabled to carry on whatever operations he sees are necessary, with vigour and effect. In

consequence of these spirited exertions, and the facility he finds of deriving benefit from every article he can possibly rear, he is enabled to afford the produce of his ground at a much lower rate, than those can do it who have a more limited demand, and more languid circulation of money.—Hence it necessarily happens, that a large market will in general be supplied with the common necessaries of life, cheaper than a smaller place. Hence it also happens, that the native products of the soil can usually be bought cheaper at the market of a large town, than even in the places where these are produced. The average price of wheat, according to the Gazette account, is less in London, than in Middlesex, Essex, and Kent.—And although it be natural at first sight to imagine, that if the demand for any article of the produce of the fields be great in any one place, the price of that article will increase, yet nothing is more certain, than if that demand be continued, the price will diminish. Cucumbers and cauliflower are called for in amazing quantities in London when compared with Aberdeen, and may be bought in the first place, at one fourth part of the price they can be had for in the last: On the other hand,

red

## INTRODUCTION. liii

red cabbages are much more in demand at Aberdeen than at London, and can there be bought for half the price. The great demand gives room for great exertions, and industry upon an extensive scale; and these exertions naturally tend to moderate the price.

Thus it appears, in whatever light we view the matter, a large town seems to be absolutely necessary for giving scope to the industry of man, and for carrying arts and manufactures to their due perfection. It would be endless to recount all the ways in which a large place tends to give employment to men, suited to their various circumstances and abilities; and to facilitate the means of finding a comfortable subsistence to themselves, which they do not enjoy in other situations. The chain is long,—the links numerous,—and they hang upon one another in such an endless succession, that it is next to impossible to trace the whole; but the gradation is so beautiful, that it may not be disagreeable to attempt to trace it in a few instances.

In a small community, the arts absolutely necessary for the existence of man, are almost the only ones that can be followed with a view to profit: But, in a large community, the mere

*can-*



*conveniences* of life, which a social intercourse suggests, furnish a copious fund of employment to many individuals. A man, for example, who buys a coat, must, in the one case, wear it till it becomes useless, or throw it away: in the other, it is found that cloaths of a certain kind only are fitted to particular descriptions of men. A man of fortune cannot with decency wear a coat that is in the smallest degree sullied; he therefore chooses to part with it then; and another person of inferior note, is glad to buy it at a lower price than when new. This is again and again changed from hand to hand; so that the coat, which was at first worn by the Peer, comes at last to be bought by the beggar. The dealing in this article, and in others of a similar nature, furnishes employment to a great many people, in various stations and circumstances. The hawking of ballads, the distributing of hand-bills, the cleaning of chimneys, the blacking of shoes, the gathering of rags, and sweeping streets, are all useful employments, and open a field for industry to people in the lowest ranks of life, which furnish a ready means of subsistence to those whose talents or circumstances do not enable them to enter into a higher class among mankind.

## INTRODUCTION.

iv

On the other hand, a skilful optician, or eminent maker of mathematical apparatus, whose works, on account of their superior excellence, must be made at a price that can be afforded by Princes and great men only, could find an adequate reward for their ingenuity and useful labours in a large place alone, where an universal correspondence with all parts of the world takes place. The same may be said of the painter, engraver, carver, architect, enameller, jeweller, and all those who labour in the fine arts, which never could have encouragement in such a situation. In such a situation too alone, the sallies of wit, and productions of genius, find encouragement; for, it is there only that mental efforts can be brought to market. There also it is, that printers and news-writers, pamphleteers, reviewers, magazine-makers, with all their numerous dependants, find employment, none of which could ever have been called into existence, but by the influence of large towns.— Thus it appears, that such places give occasion for exerting to advantage, all the various powers and faculties of man, whether mental or corporeal: And by consequence, it is there only that every individual is at liberty to occupy that station in society which his genius and circumstances

cumstances best qualify him for. No man, therefore, needs be there idle; for, he must, if he chooses it, find some employment fitted for him; whereas, in a smaller society, idleness is frequently unavoidable, and helpless poverty its necessary attendant. Employment in a small place, can only be given to those who are skilled in the few arts that are there wanted; and those who cannot perform these, must remain destitute of employment: But in a large place, every human being possessed of locomotive powers, must find some business adapted to his capacity, which is ready to receive him.—Hence it happens, that great cities prove an asylum to the unfortunate and helpless members of society, who feel themselves embarrassed in the country, who frequently *there* attain wealth and honour, instead of a hopeless poverty, which their own most strenuous exertions could not remove.

Many speculative men, who have not attentively considered this subject, think they perceive numberless objections to large cities, and express a predilection in favour of villages and hamlets. And tho' there is no doubt that peculiar vices originate in large societies, as well as peculiar virtues; yet I thought it necessary to show in detail, that it is there, and there alone,

## INTRODUCTION. lvii

alone, that men can be universally employed, or obtain a proper reward for their labour, not only with a view to enforce the necessity of adopting this plan of improvement on the present occasion, but also to explain the cause of that general poverty and indolence of which the inhabitants of the Hebrides have been so often accused; as well as to give an opportunity of explaining, under what circumstances villages and hamlets can be established, so as to give scope for industry, and promote the general welfare of the community.

### VILLAGES,

*In what cases beneficial to Society.*

WE are, from the foregoing induction, led to perceive, that villages are a necessary and useful appendage to a town. People living in such villages, enjoy every advantage that is derived from the extended commerce of the town; and obtain the farther advantage of free air, cheap houses, plenty of room, and other peculiarities of situation adapted to facilitate the manufacture they carry on. But villages unconnected with towns, afford scarce any advantage to the inhabitants, above those that are found in solitary hamlets. The people in such  
villages,



villages, are subjected to the same evils with respect to trade and manufactures, as in hamlets; and experience the additional inconvenience of being less favourably situated for benefiting themselves by the produce of the fields. It thus appears, that the beneficial progression is, first to establish large towns, and then to allow villages to spring up of themselves around them; and not to attempt, as many have thought was natural, first to make villages, in hopes that these would gradually rise to be great towns; for, unless it be in consequence of a particular manufacture established in a favourable situation in a country not destitute of large commercial towns, it is plain from reasoning, and is fully confirmed by experience, that a village planted in any place, instead of rising to a town, unavoidably becomes in a short time a desert. It was this circumstance, tho' unattended to at the time, that occasioned the ruin of so many villages projected and established in different parts of Britain, as an asylum for disbanded soldiers at the close of the war 1762, no traces of which are now to be found. The humane projectors of these had observed, that Birmingham, Manchester, and some other places in England, had risen in a short time, from villages, to become towns,

## INTRODUCTION. li

towns, without having adverted to the advantages that these villages derived from the vicinity of so many great commercial places around them; and rashly concluded, that a village planted in the wilds of Lochaber, or other such solitary place, would enjoy a similar degree of prosperity. The event has showed, that the conclusion was erroneous; and I now wish to impress my readers with a conviction, that the principle on which these were attempted, for which I find mankind in general entertain a favourable prepossession, was a bad one, and can scarcely ever be applied with success. Accordingly we find in the history of all past ages, that every permanent settlement that was made, was done by bringing the whole members of the community, or a very great body of them, into one place, where they could receive the full benefit of their united exertions. Tyre, Carthage, Athens, Sparta, Syracuse, Rome, were established on this principle; and the experience of modern times has shown, that every distant settlement which was founded on any other principle, ended in the total destruction of the people, and the entire ruin of the project, such being alike the result of reasoning and experience, let me warn my countrymen against a plan,

## II INTRODUCTION.

a plan, which, if adopted, will inevitably occasion a great waste of treasure to the public, or to those individuals who shall undertake it, and be productive of much private distress to the individuals who shall be rash enough to become settlers in such places. A languid miserable kind of business, which can only be kept alive by the continual support of bounties, and other burthensome aids, is all that can be expected from such an enterprise. Hopes will thus be excited, which never can be realised: New demands, and repeated disappointments, are the necessary consequences; so that all parties concerned, feeling themselves burthened with a load they cannot possibly get rid of, come to be soured with each other, and complaints are multiplied, without affording either satisfaction or relief.

## R E V E N U E.

It is not uncommon to hear men in administration, and members of Parliament, complain that taxes are much less productive in Scotland than in England, in proportion to the number of people in these two countries respectively; from whence they infer, that the payment of the taxes is there much more evaded, and consequently

## INTRODUCTION. 121

frequently that they are levied in general with far less strictness, and must of course be felt much more lightly in Scotland than in England. It would have been well, if, instead of thus rashly drawing a conclusion, that for aught they know may be exceedingly erroneous and unjust, they had ordered an enquiry to be made into the causes of this difference; as such an enquiry would necessarily have led to discoveries that could not fail to prove highly beneficial to both countries. In that case, they could not have proceeded far, before they would have discovered that taxes are in general levied with much greater rigour in Scotland than in England\*. This would have led to an enquiry into the causes, why the people should find difficulty in paying, in one part of the country, a small sum in comparison of what was paid by an equal number with ease in another part of it. In the course of such an investigation, they would have found that the people in the one case are poor, and in the other are in easy circumstances, which should have brought about an en-

\* The Evidence given before the Committee of Fisheries, sufficiently proves this with regard to the article salt; and a like investigation of every other article, would have led to the same conclusion.

quary



quiry into the causes of that difference. This would have led them to observe, that, in England, the situation of the people is such as admits of taxes being easily collected; and in many parts of Scotland, is such as that scarcely any taxes can be demanded of the people; and that the expence of collecting the few taxes that can be demanded, is so great as to swallow up much more than the whole produce of these taxes. They would have had occasion also to observe, that while the one class of the people are protected in their rights and properties by an effectual and speedy exertion of the laws in their favour, the others are exposed to insults and exactions, to fees and perquisites innumerable, which continually bring them into difficulties and embarrassments without end. These things could not have been remarked, without producing some exertions to remove evils which tended so much to distress individuals, and weaken the state. To assist those who wish to turn their thoughts towards such an investigation, I shall here beg leave to state a few facts relating to this head, and make some observations upon them.

In the Third Report from the Committee of Fisheries (See Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> 1.), the Gentlemen  
of

# INTRODUCTION. lxiii

of that Committee take occasion to observe, that in the counties of *Argyle, Inverness, Sutherland, Gaithness, Orkney, and Shetland*, (to which must be added, the shires of *Cromarty, Nairn, and Moray*, as being included in these collections), the account of customs for ten years, ending with the year 1784, stood thus:—

Gross produce,	L. 50737	2	14
Payments,	51679	10	9

Payments exceed the produce, L. 926 10 9

On this fact, the Committee make the following pertinent remark:—

“ Your Committee can hardly exhibit a more deplorable state of a public revenue.— It appears, there has been annually collected for customs, in *six* counties; (it should have been *nine*), more extensive than all the rest of Scotland, on an average for the last ten years,

L. 5073 12 0  
That the expence of collecting is 5167 19 0  
And that an actual loss has accrued upon this branch of the revenue, of about L. 94:7s. a-year.”

[In the year 1776, the loss was L. 4888:18:2½.]

“ An account of the duties of excise has been called for during the same period, but not yet presented to the House: But, so far as your Committee

## lxiv INTRODUCTION.

Committee can judge from analogy, they have little reason to expect a more favourable result from their enquiries respecting the excise than customs.<sup>33</sup>\*

It must here, however, be noted, that, unfavourable as this account appears to be, it must still be accounted a more flattering picture, than strict justice would authorise. The expence here stated, does not include the whole that should be charged on this account; for, besides other lesser articles, the charge of the revenue-cutters employed to cruise on these coasts, should be included, but is here totally omitted.—The average expence of the cruisers employed under the Board of Customs in Scotland, for five years preceding the year 1785, I find, amounted to L. 9875:12:4 $\frac{1}{2}$ †. If we suppose that one-half of the above expence should be stated to the account of the nine counties above mentioned, which I conceive to be an under-proportion, then the expence on this head would be L. 4937:11:2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; and the whole account, in

\* This account was afterwards produced, and confirms the foregoing remark.

† See Appendix to the Second Report of the Committee appointed to enquire into the illicit practices used in defrauding the revenue, No. 4.

this

# INTRODUCTION. lxv

this case, would stand thus:—Payments in  
these counties, L. 5167 19 9  
Ditto on account of cruisers, 4937 11 2½

10105 10 11½

Gross annual produce, 5073 12 0

Payments exceed the produce L. 5031 18 11½

which is very nearly double the amount of the whole money collected from the people.—A fact of this nature, when thus fairly brought to light, cannot fail to strike every thinking person with some degree of astonishment and horror.—A croud of reflections here press upon the mind.—Why are these persons oppressed with taxes, when the State is in no ways benefited by them? Why are the other members of the community loaded with burthens, to enforce the payment of these unproductive taxes here? From what cause does it happen, that these people complain of taxes, while they pay next to nothing?—These, with a train of similar reflections, must occur to every one: And it is surely of much importance that such questions should obtain a cool discussion, if it is meant to put the body-politic into a due degree of health, so as to give energy to its exertions.

E

I shall



lxxi INTRODUCTION.

I shall not here attempt to enter into any of these questions, except the last; with regard to which, the following remarks are submitted to the consideration of the Reader—

As the account stands, it would seem that the people paid very little indeed on account of the customs. But this is a mere fallacious appearance. The sums they pay, indeed, cannot be very great, considered positively, because their commercial transactions must be trifling; but when the payments they are obliged to make on account of the customhouse, are compared with the value of the goods which yield these customs, I do not suppose that I over-rate their charge, when I maintain that they pay at least *five hundred per cent.* more than merchants in London, Liverpool, or Bristol, would have paid for the same goods. This assertion, like many others relating to those poor people, will appear monstrous and incredible, till it is explained:—Would to God it were as easy to remove the evil, as to prove that it actually exists!

It will be observed, that the little commerce which takes place among the people in those regions, consists chiefly in articles that cannot be charged with any duty of customs at all. Foreign trade, in articles that pay high duties,  
does

# INTRODUCTION. lxvii

does not there exist; and almost every article they send coast-ways, is nearly free of duties: but though these yield no revenue to the Exchequer, they draw a great deal of money from the persons who transport them. One man, suppose, has five bolls of oat-meal that he means to send from his own farm, to a friend at some distance. Before he can ship that meal, he must give bond at the customhouse, that it is not to be sent elsewhere, but must be landed in Britain. This bond costs 8s. 6d. — one shilling more for a sufferance to ship it — one shilling more for a sufferance to unload — and 8s. 6d. for a certificate to be returned before the bond can be delivered up—in all, thirteen shillings; while the whole value of the goods does not exceed perhaps forty shillings†: And all this independent of expences of going to and from the customhouse, and carrying the officers to unfrequented ports, there to load and discharge the vessels. This expence must be totally indefinite, because it must vary according to the situation of the place. — But I

† This is not a fanciful case—I have actually paid it myself. The charge would not have been greater, indeed, had it been a thousand bolls. The hardship is, that it presses upon poor people, and represses beginning exertions.

had it from a Gentleman of veracity, who lived at less than half the distance from a customhouse than some others are from it, that, on a loading of coals, the expence of bringing and entertaining an officer for this purpose, exceeded, in some cases, the prime cost of the coals; and in small cargoes, and at greater distances, the proportion would, in some cases, be three times that prime cost. — It is also in evidence before the Committee of Fisheries, that this expence for bringing officers to a distance, merely to measure over salt in Shetland, with regard to which article no customs are paid, sometimes exceeds the whole value of the salt. \* 101 50

From these few specimens, the attentive Reader will easily perceive, that although the natives of those districts pay very little in to the Exchequer, yet that the money they are obliged to give away on account of the revenue laws, for every little mercantile transaction in which they shall try to engage, is great, and

\* Another instance is mentioned in the following Report, page 40th, Note; where a man, for the value of ten shillings worth of salt, was obliged to be at five pounds expences, none of which went to increase the revenue, and but a small part of it into the pockets of the officers of excise, almost the whole being expended in wages for useless labour.

intolerably

intolerably burthenfome to them.— They are therefore taxed in a much higher proportion than others, though they seem to pay no taxes: They are oppressed with burthens more grievous than they can bear, though these contribute nothing to the endowment of the State: They are reviled for evading the law, while they are so severely scourged by the heavy pressure of that law, as to be reduced to the necessity of remaining inactive, because every beginning exertion is attended with exactions with which they are utterly unable to comply. Is it not that the Legislature should suffer these things to subsist, and not attempt a remedy for evils of such nature so heavy and grievous to all the people?

But, not to dwell on the inconveniences felt by the natives, let us return to the subject of national revenue, a subject which, in the present situation of this country, demands the most serious consideration of every member of the community.—It is very well known, that, in towns where commerce can be carried on, where industry may be exerted with profit, and where of course money circulates and wealth abounds, taxes can be paid by the people without being burthenfome to them, and great revenues can be collected at a small and trifling expence.



expence. This being obviously the case, we may reasonably infer, that as there are several towns in the nine counties before specified, the small payments that have been made belong to them entirely: So that the numerous people who are scattered about through those extensive regions,—which, exclusive of the towns, are not fewer, I presume, (probably more) than five hundred thousand,—not only do not pay any thing to the Exchequer, but are really a burthen on the revenue of the State, to the extent of ten thousand pounds a-year at least, in the branch of customs only.

Pursuing these speculations, let us take a survey of the present state of the whole inhabitants of Scotland, with respect to revenue concerns.—In the whole of Scotland, there are about 950 parishes, which may be arranged under three distinct classes, *viz.* 1<sup>st</sup>, Country parishes in the Lowlands; 2<sup>d</sup>, Parishes in the Highlands

† The following towns are in the district before specified of which those marked thus † are Royal Boroughs: † Inverness, † Fort-George, † Nairn, † Forres, † Fife, † Elgin, † Forres, † Cromarty, † Dingwall, † Tain, † Dornoch, † Wick, † Thurso, † Kirkwall, † Lerwick, † Inveraray, † Tarbat, † Campbellton, † Bannockburn, † Oban, † Fort-William, and † Stornoway. Some of these are indeed very inconsiderable places; but others are tolerable towns, especially those on the east coast.

# INTRODUCTION. lxxi

and Isles; 3d, Parishes in Towns. Of these, the Low-country parishes are the least populous, the Highland parishes more so, and the Town-parishes the most populous of any. The number of parishes in each of these classes, and people in each, on an average, I estimate as under:—

300 Low-country parishes, exclusive of towns,  
containing, on an average 1000 persons in  
each—Total 300,000

400 Country-parishes in the Highlands  
and Isles, on an average 2000 in  
each\*—Total 800,000

250 Town-parishes, on an average  
3000 in each—Total 750,000

---

950 parishes, Total inhabitants - 1,850,000

When

\* I am sensible that Gentlemen in England will be astonished at the great number of people I here assign to each country-parish; but after having attended carefully to this subject for some years past, I am satisfied that I have not here gone beyond the truth, but rather am considerably under it.—The Rev. Dean Tucker, to whom I about two years ago communicated some speculations of this sort, expressed some degree of astonishment at this circumstance, and thought I must have fallen into a mistake. I happened soon after I received his letter, to make a small excursion into the Low-country; in which I had occasion to pass through five contiguous country-parishes, which were taken without selection, whose population, on an average,

was

When these three classes are considered with a view to revenue, I presume they will stand thus:—The country-parishes in the Lowlands will in general be nearly upon a par; *that is to say*, they will yield no free revenue, *but* they will in general defray the expence of collecting

was very nearly two thousand persons in each, (one of them I was assured contained 3000 persons). This I consider as considerably above the general average; but there are many places where the numbers are equally great. In the Highlands and Isles, three thousand is by no means an uncommon number of people in a parish. These things I know will appear incredible to an Englishman, who has been accustomed to see only one, two, or three hundred persons in a country-parish. This circumstance, however, serves, among others, strongly to mark the different states of improvement in the two countries, when compared with each other. In England, the fields are cultivated upon a large scale; and no more hands are suffered to remain upon them, than those which are necessary for carrying forward the operations on that large economical scale. On an extensive improved corn-farm, the hands necessary for cultivating it are few; but in a wide inclosed grazing farm, they are next to none at all. The hands which are in these circumstances no longer necessary to cultivate the fields, are driven from thence into manufacturing villages or towns, where they earn a comfortable subsistence by the labour of their hands; and open an extensive market for the produce of the adjoining fields, instead of being allowed to scrape a pitiful subsistence, by a wretched kind of culture of the ground, in small patches scattered over the whole face of the country, as in Scotland.

it, so that they are neither beneficial nor hurtful. The Highland parishes fall greatly short; and with regard to them, the expence in all cases must far exceed the income. The only productive class, therefore, is the last, whose payments greatly exceed the expence. But when it is considered, that the deficiency incurred by the second class, must first be paid out of the income arising from this class of people, before the net produce can be ascertained, it will not appear at all wonderful, if the general net produce of all the taxes should in this country amount to a very inconsiderable sum. Instead, therefore, of idly blaming the people for crimes they are not guilty of, it would well become the Ministry, to try to remedy the evils that produce this distress; and it would be a discussion as proper for engaging the attention of Parliament as any that can be proposed, to try if, by their united wisdom, they could discover what would in the most effectual manner, and in the shortest time, remedy that hitherto unobserved disease\*.

Mr.

\* If we consider England and Wales in the same point of view as we have done Scotland above, and suppose its population to be eight millions, the subdivision would probably stand nearly thus:—

In



## lxxiv INTRODUCTION.

Mr. Neckar, that attentive financier, among the multiplicity of important facts which he has collected and published to the world, affords some that lead to the very same conclusion with those that now are the subject of discussion, tho' he has not had leisure to point out the use that should be made of these facts. In his last work, he has given a list of the net produce of all the taxes in each of the provinces of France; and, comparing that with the number of persons in each district, he states how much it amounts to a head on an average in each. And here, as in Britain (and I presume in every other part of the world), he finds it a rule without

In towns and manufacturing villages, with the adjacent countries, in all which the taxes must be productive, about

6,300,000

In remote country-parishes, where taxes are not productive, but where no extra-expence to Government is incurred, about

1,000,000

In high and inaccessible places, where the expence exceeds the income, about

500,000

8,000,000

In this case the productive are to the wasteful part of the community, in the proportion of 13 to 1; whereas in Scotland, they are only as 74 to 8. No wonder, therefore, that the taxes should yield much more in the one country, tho' levied lightly, than they do in the other, tho' levied with great rigour.

## INTRODUCTION. LXXV

exception, that in those provinces where the number and the extent of large commercial towns is greatest, the rate *per head* is greatest also, tho' the pressure of taxes is usually most felt where the produce is smallest. For instance, in the generality of Paris, the people pay on an average *per head* 64 *livres* 5 *sous*, and in that of Rennes 12 *livres* 10 *sous*, which is at the proportion of more than five to one. The inferences that may be drawn from this fact are so obvious, as not to require to be here enlarged on. I shall only state one.—If the eight hundred thousand persons above stated, who now tend to diminish instead of augmenting the revenue drawn from Scotland, were placed in circumstances which could enable them to pay as much *per head* as those in the generality of Paris now pay (about L. 3 each), it would afford a clear revenue to the State of L. 2,400,000 *per annum*; and this not only without finding the taxes burthensome, but with much more ease and satisfaction to themselves than as they are at present. The prosperity they would thus enjoy, would make their numbers quickly to increase, and with that, the amount of the produce of the taxes would be augmented in a yet higher proportion; which would still more  
and

## lxvi INTRODUCTION

and more increase the revenue, without either trouble or expence to the Minister, or disturbance to the people. Thus should we no longer hear complaints of the deficiency of payments from Scotland on the one hand, or murmurs from thence on the other, of the rigorous severity with which taxes are exacted from the people.

### EMIGRATIONS

*Their effects on Population and Industry.*

It has been in general admitted, that the riches and power of a State depended in a great measure on the number of its people; and that its prosperity could not be so much augmented, as by increasing the amount of its population:

On the subject of assessing taxes with regard to Scotland, the following fact will speak for itself.—In July 1744, when I was at Greenock, a great ferment was excited in that place, by the arrival of an excise-officer, charged with strict orders to levy from rich inhabitants who maintained the expression of the country, one guinea a year as gardeners' tax, for all the years that had elapsed since the tax upon male-servants had been established. This tax the people refused to pay, alleging, in one place, that none of their yards were not worth half the annual sum charged for them; and, in the next place, that none of the persons kept a gardener for working them; and that most of the owners did not even employ a day-

It appears from what has been just now said, that the prosperity of a nation may in some cases be much augmented, even without making any addition to its people; though it should seem by every natural inference that can be drawn from the facts there stated, that its prosperity would be still farther augmented, if, along with other useful regulations, a considerable addition was made to its population. A doctrine, however, directly the reverse of this, has been maintained, and strenuously insisted on by some modern Philosophers of great name. It is of importance that this question should be fully investigated: I shall therefore bestow upon it somewhat more attention than I should have thought the doctrine merited, had it not been maintain-

day-labourer for that purpose—the poor people going out themselves to dig and clean their little spots of garden-ground, by way of recreation and amusement, in the evenings, and hours of relaxation from labour. The excise-officer could find no argument to plead in bar of these; but showed them that his order was peremptory to exact it: They as peremptorily refused to pay it. How the affair ended, I cannot tell—but afterwards, when I was at Cambleton, the same officer arrived on the same errand, and met with the same success. I have heard, that under a similar pretext, some persons in England had been charged with the gardeners duty, for keeping small pleasure-gardens that were regularly dressed by a professed gardener; but the case here was widely different.



## lxxviii INTRODUCTION.

ed by names which gave it a weight among the multitude, it never otherways could have obtained.

Dr. Price, with seeming seriousness, affirms, That 'when a number of people quit a country, there is greater employment and greater 'plenty of the means of subsistence for those who 'remain; and the vacancy is soon filled up.' Observations on Civil Liberty, &c. 9th edit. page 38.—And Dr. Franklin asserts, That 'a 'well-regulated nation is like a polypus; take 'away a limb, its place is soon supplied; cut 'it in two, and each deficient part shall soon 'speedily grow out of the part remaining, 'Thus as you may by dividing make ten polypuses out of one, you may of one make ten 'nations equally populous and powerful, or 'rather increase a nation ten-fold in number 'and in strength.'

\* How beautiful it is to give fanciful analogies, instead of arguments!—I, too, perhaps, might have been able to produce some brilliant passages, had I only been anxious to please, or desirous to mislead; but, hard is the lot of that man who has no other aim but to expose error, and inform the judgment. He must tug incessantly like the slave chained to the oar, without being permitted to indulge in those fairy scenes he may observe as he passes. Like the Knight in chivalry, his sword can only dispel the enchanted castles that start up in his way, and leave nothing but the howling desert desolate and bare around him.

These

## INTRODUCTION. lxxix

These maxims are nothing more than a repetition, in a more engaging dress, of the Old English popular adage, that ‘if foreigners should be allowed to settle in this country, they would eat the bread out of the mouths of the natives themselves;’—an adage which has been often repeated and firmly believed by the vulgar, tho’ I am ignorant if this doctrine ever was seriously maintained by any philosopher before the present æra, and therefore it never has obtained the honour of a candid refutation till the present time.

If these maxims be just, it must follow, that wherever a place is found to increase by means of an influx of people, the former inhabitants must there experience a want of provisions, as well as of employment, which they did not feel before; and that, on the other hand, wherever it decreases, those inhabitants that remain, must be much more employed, and in much better circumstances, than formerly: their population must also increase in a much more rapid progression:—Let us search for examples to confirm these positions.

The Princes of Spain, who had not the advantage to be instructed by such profound philosophers as those just quoted, pursued, from  
other

other motives, a plan of conduct which these maxims would prove to have been consistent with the soundest policy. They banished at once, many millions of their people. The city of Granada in particular, and the kingdom then belonging to it, were thinned to a very great degree. Those who remained, must therefore have had much more employment, and greater plenty than before, so that the vacancy would be soon filled up. Has this been the case?—All Historians agree, that there is not at this day in that district, perhaps one tenth part of the inhabitants that it formerly contained:—They have scarce any employment, are ill-provided in food, and give no prospect of ever being able to make up the deficiency of their population. Spain, in general, has since that time been greatly thinned of its inhabitants by emigration. Have the people, on that account, become more industrious? Are they richer and better fed than formerly? Is their population increasing with unusual rapidity?—Quite the reverse. In all these particulars, they are inferior to what they were before these emigrations took place.

Antwerp was once a most flourishing city. Its inhabitants were then fully employed, abundantly

dantly fed, and prosperous in every respect. Its population is now inconsiderable: the people want employment, nor do necessaries abound to an unusual degree; and we hear no accounts of there being a prospect of this vacancy being soon filled up†. On the other hand, Amsterdam, which was then a place of inferior note, that contained few inhabitants, has become a place of the first magnitude: But so far is the employment of the people from being by that means decreased, that it has increased exceedingly. The means of subsistence abound to an astonishing degree, while its population increases.

These examples afford strong suspicions of the falsity of the doctrine advanced, when considered in a general view:—when we descend to particulars, the proofs of it are not less abundant. If the introduction of strangers into a country, tends to diminish the employment of the natives, and to eat the bread out of their mouths; upon the first view of the matter,

† Should any objection be brought against the example in the text, the same observation may be with equal justice applied to the antient cities of Syracuse, Verona, Rome, and Capua; to the more modern ones of Marseilles, Lubec, and Seville, as well as those of Boston, York, and Colchester, within this island; with hundreds of others needless here to mention.



this evidently can only be understood of those who are rivals in the *same profession*. Nobody can believe, that a taylor introduced into any place, will diminish the employment of the shoe-makers there, but rather increase it; for he himself must have shoes, as well as all those who wanted shoes before his arrival. In the same manner, he must increase the business of the brewer, baker, clothier, shop-keeper, grazier, and farmer in that neighbourhood; from all of whom he purchases such commodities they respectively furnish, as far as his own consumption extends. Instead of diminishing, therefore, he must *augment* the employment of every individual in the community, excepting perhaps those who follow his own profession, whose business, in certain circumstances, he may indeed diminish.

But tho' there are some particular branches of business in which a rival may diminish the employment of those who exercise the same profession, yet there are many others in regard to which that effect cannot take place, but rather the reverse. All those who are employed in manufactures of any sort, that are intended for a distant market; all who are employed in commerce, or in bringing to perfection whatever  
can

## INTRODUCTION. lxxxiii

can admit of being sold elsewhere, are not only not hurt by the increase of those of their own profession, but greatly benefited thereby. Is a merchant of London hurt by the number of merchants there? Quite the reverse. From the want of an equal number of competitors in the same place, those of Bristol are their inferiors. The merchants of Bristol, for the same reason, outshine those of Dublin, as Dublin is superior to Glasgow, and Glasgow to Aberdeen. Thus you go on in a perpetual progression. As the places diminish in size, for the most part the number of merchants decrease; and with their decrease of number, their weight (as individuals not less than in their aggregate capacity) diminishes in the mercantile scale of Europe. A rival, therefore, in this respect, adds to the business and importance of those even of his own profession.

In manufactures, we find the same thing frequently occurs. What detached place can rival in goodness, or in cheapness, the cotton manufactures of Manchester? What solitary hamlet can afford cutlery wares as good and cheap as the manufactures of Birmingham? What small village can undersell the woollen manufactures of Wakefield and of Leeds?—

It is on account of the number of persons labouring in a compacted body, that they have there been enabled to bring the several branches of their own profession to the perfection they have attained. Here, therefore, rival manufacturers in the same class, add to, instead of diminishing the business of each:—And the same observation, with equal justice, will apply to almost every other manufacturer, whose goods admit of being carried to a distance. Added numbers, therefore, in all these instances, tend prodigiously to augment the business, and consequently to increase the wealth and happiness of the whole, without diminishing the employment of even a single individual. And when it is also considered how much the operations of commerce and of manufactures are facilitated by this increased population, and how much improvements in agriculture are forwarded thereby, as has been particularly explained in the first part of this Essay, we shall be constrained to acknowledge, that the universal experience of mankind concurs with reason, in condemning as false and ridiculous, that popular doctrine before mentioned, which has been so long blindly received among the vulgar as indisputable, though it has been condemned as absurd

by

by every man who pretended to the character of a philosopher, till the present æra. It is because of the number of persons the United Provinces received by emigration from the neighbouring States, and the concentrated population resulting from thence, that the people there are enabled to subsist, notwithstanding the very heavy taxes borne by those of all ranks and professions there; and have found no difficulty to out-rival many other nations, both in trade and manufactures, who enjoy numberless *natural* advantages for those employments which that country cannot boast of: And it is in a great measure owing to the decrease of inhabitants in Spain, in consequence of emigrations from thence, that that fine country has lost its commerce, its manufactures, and its agriculture †. The rule scarce admits of an exception, that

† The deterioration of Spain has been in a great measure promoted by the tax called *Alcavala*; that is, a tax upon provisions, and other goods, sold in market-towns.—This ill-judged tax tends to drive the poor from towns into the country, where they hope to rear provisions themselves, and avoid the tax. • Markets being thus in some measure shut up, they now feel all the inconveniences that result from the want of them. The proverbial indolence and poverty of Spaniards, may in a great measure be traced to this source.

where.



wherever the number of people is increasing, the *business and means of subsistence* in that place increase also; and that where a place is on the decline, the employment of the people who remain becomes more slack, and their means of subsistence proportionally precarious†. This Dr. Franklin, practically at least, allows to be the case in *America*, as he uses every argument in his power to persuade the people of Europe to send their inhabitants thither in as great numbers as possible; endeavouring to make them believe, 'that thus more employment will be given to their own people at home, and that their numbers will by consequence be increased.' The Doctor, it would seem, does not entertain the highest idea of the reasoning powers of the people in Europe, if he thinks them incapable of here drawing the necessary inference. It seems the polypus in Europe is multiplied by dividing and abstracting from its body; but, in *America*, the same ani-

† In conformity with this sentiment, Dr. Adam Smith says, (*Wealth of Nations*, p. 99.), "The condition of the labouring poor is most happy in the *progressive* state of society, hard in the *stationary* state, and miserable in the declining state. In all the different orders of society, the *progressive* state is hearty and chearful, the *stationary* dull, and the *declining* melancholy."

## INTRODUCTION. lxxxvii

mal is not augmented by the same process, but by one directly the reverse, that of adding to it the detached parts that have been abstracted from others.

A very ingenious advocate for the same doctrine, alleges, That ‘the population of kingdoms in general is like the ascent of waters. They rise to the level of the fountain from whence they proceed, but no higher, however they may incidentally vibrate above and below it from any sudden partial impulse. The *permanent* number of people in any country will be nearly proportionate to the number of hands that can be employed, or can be maintained and supported. If these are diminished by war, pestilence, emigrations, or any other cause, as soon as that cause is removed, they will be rapidly recruited, partly by the accession of foreigners, and partly by the increased generation of the natives, from the stronger encouragement given to matrimony †.’

I quote this passage at full length, as containing the most plausible state that I have seen, of the argument in favour of the beneficial ef-

† See Mr. Howlett's Defence of his Pamphlet on Population, Gent. Mag. Nov. 1783, page 326.

fects of emigration. I state it with the farther view of shewing with how much facility ingenious men may impose upon themselves and others, by adopting a loose and popular mode of argumentation.

We are here told, that population, like the effluent of waters, always rises to the level of the fountain from whence they proceed; but no higher. But when we come to enquire what that fountain is, we are at some loss to discover it. If it has any meaning at all, the fountain of population, it would seem, can only be the natural fertility of the country, and the means it possesses for giving the inhabitants room to exercise their talents and industry. If this be admitted, it will necessarily follow, that there can be no permanent change in the state of the population of any country; for, the above particulars depending entirely on the physical conformation of the universe, are little liable to change. It must hence follow, that a country which has once been populous to a certain degree, can never be reduced to a permanent state of depopulation. The fountain remains the same; the waters must therefore rise to the same level as before.—To ask if this hypothesis be consistent with the state of facts in regard

regard to this world, were to suppose my readers altogether unacquainted with the history of nations. Spain, as I have often had occasion to observe, was once filled with a great multitude of people: by emigration and other means, these people are now reduced to a handful, and seem not in a condition quickly to increase: Carthage, for many centuries, contained in her territories several millions of inhabitants, which have been long diminished to a few; nor exhibit the most distant appearance of ever augmenting their numbers: Palestine swarmed with people, where scarce an inhabitant is now to be found. In these, and numberless other instances that might be produced, we see, that without any physical change in the fountain, the waters may be kept from rising so high as the source: in other words, population may be *permanently* diminished.

It would be equally easy to show, if the above definition be admitted as just, that the waters may be made to rise above the height of the fountain from whence they sprang. Of this fact Holland is a noted example. That country is not capable of maintaining, even in its present state, according to the most authentic accounts, one fourth part of the people which inhabit



inhabit it; and if our views be carried back for half a score of centuries, we shall find, that in its *then* state, it could not have sustained one thousandth part of its present inhabitants. Should any man, therefore, at that period, have fixed its *permanent* state of population as high as the fountain itself, beyond which it never could rise, *unless by a temporary vibration*, how great would be his astonishment now, to find that it had continued for centuries, so much higher than (according to this theory) it was possible! Thus it appears, that this imaginary immutable standard, this fixed fountain which is always to regulate the level of population, proves to be no standard at all, as that population may be made *permanently* to remain infinitely below, or infinitely above it.

I shall now perhaps be told, that I have misrepresented the argument: that the fountain of population is not alone *the natural fertility of the country, and the means it possesses of giving the inhabitants room to exercise their talents and industry*; but that it likewise means *the liberty that is given to the inhabitants to exert these talents, and to exercise that industry in a proper manner*. If this definition of the fountain pleases the advocates for the doctrine disputed, it equally pleases

pleases me: If not, let them be kind enough to give their own definition of it. Till that appears, I shall examine how far the argument is consistent, on the supposition that the above explanation is adhered to.

On the first view of the argument under this new form, it appears, that instead of a *fixed* standard for population, which we naturally expected, we now find nothing that can be laid hold of as a standard at all:—nothing that is more permanent than the caprice of man; for, whatever shall be the natural advantages of any country, the inhabitants cannot be allowed to exercise their industry, but in as far as their rulers shall be pleased to permit. The population of a nation, therefore, instead of depending on physical causes, which are fixed and permanent, would in this case depend upon political regulations, which are fluctuating, and perpetually subject to change. On this supposition, to talk of the *permanent* number of people in any country, would be in the highest degree absurd; as no rule can be found in nature, which is to fix and ascertain that degree of permanency. I shall not pursue this branch of the argument any farther, as it would only serve

serve to multiply words, in exposing an absurdity that is already but too apparent †.

The truth is, that the degree of population in a country, is in part influenced by physical, and in part by civil causes. The richest and most populous country may be rendered a desert, merely in consequence of injudicious political regulations; and that which is poor and thinly inhabited, may, in consequence of a mild government, and civil institutions that tend to promote industry and sobriety, become rich and populous to an inconceivable degree. The instances already adduced, are sufficient to prove this beyond a possibility of doubt; and many more, if necessary, might be mentioned. But if this be admitted, it proves that the combination of words above quoted, which assumes so fair an appearance of an argument, is nothing but an empty form, without a substance. Like an *ignis fatuus*, it appears at a distance to be a reality; and under this semblance serves to

† I would not here take notice of the quibble that might be raised on account of the words 'emigration, or any other cause, so soon as that cause can be removed,' in the passage quoted above, were it not to show that it was not overlooked. Should any-one make use of it after reading all that is said in the text upon this subject, I shall consider him as only arguing for the sake of words.

## INTRODUCTION. xciii

mislead the unwary ; but when more closely examined, it totally disappears.

In regard to mere brute animals, incapable of self-government, of foresight, and of industry, the argument is just and true. The number of these can in no case exceed what the food that nature (or man) has provided, is sufficient to sustain.——But in regard to man, who can bring his food from afar, or by his industry can make the laws of nature in certain cases become subservient to his power, and make the barren desert produce to him the most luxuriant harvests, the same mode of reasoning cannot apply. Even where he is debarred by the natural situation of his country, from obtaining foreign supplies, no limitation can be assigned to the augmentation in the quantity of food he may derive from his own native soil. Palestine, in such a situation, tho' at present a barren country, by the industry of its people of old, was found sufficient to maintain a hundred times the number of people who can now with difficulty find subsistence in it. To talk, then, of setting limits to the population of man from physical causes, is absurd ; because no one can say, to what extent the industry of man can carry his improvements : the degree of popula-



population must therefore yet more depend upon civil than physical causes. A natural inference that results from this conclusion is, that we should exert ourselves to the utmost, to discover those political arrangements that have a natural tendency to augment or to discourage the industry of our people, that we may be the better enabled to correct the defects of our civil institutions, and thus to augment the number of our people.

The only question that remains to be discussed between those who maintain the expediency of driving the people away from the country, and myself, at last resolves itself into this: Will the industry of the people, and the produce of the country, be augmented or diminished by emigrations?—It is of much consequence that this question should be fully investigated; for, if the industry and population of a country are increased by sending its people abroad, it then must be wise policy to encourage emigrations; and care should be taken that no accidental circumstance should ever be suffered to interrupt that salutary dismissal of people. But if it shall, on the contrary, appear, that, in all cases, emigrations from a place have a necessary and unavoidable tendency to diminish the employment, relax

relax the industry, decrease the riches, and retard the natural increase of those that remain behind, it will follow, that it is a disease of the most destructive tendency, and, as such, ought to be guarded against with the most watchful care; and that instead of coolly permitting it to go on without controul, every exertion should be used to counteract its influence, by a conduct in every respect the reverse of what has been above suggested; and that devices should be adopted, not only to keep our own people at home, but also to entice as many strangers as possible to come and settle among us, and thus to augment the strength, the wealth, and prosperity of our own people, to the highest possible degree.

That the *produce* of the country cannot be augmented by driving its people away to any other part of the world, seems to be sufficiently obvious, when we advert that the demand for that produce must be diminished, *in as far as the consumption of the emigrants extended.* The amount of this diminution, therefore, will always be proportioned to the numbers that shall emigrate. In consequence of this slackening in the demand from the farmer, *his* industry receives a check, *his* business is diminished, *his* profits

profits are lessened :—he cannot live so well ; he cannot marry so soon ; he will not, therefore, be tempted to generate children so early as if no such change had taken place.

On the other hand, should an additional inhabitant be brought into the district where he resides, that inhabitant must be fed as well as others who were there before. This occasions an additional demand from the farmer, which excites his industry, augments his profits, enables him to live better, to marry sooner, and to beget children at a more early period than he otherwise would have done. Add to the number of people thus imported, you only give an additional *stimulus* to his exertions, and augment his prosperity the more.

It thus appears, that in as far as concerns the business of *the farmer*, emigrations from a place, tend, in the most direct manner, to diminish his employment ; and, *in as far as regards him*, to give a check to population, instead of encouraging it. The want of people, therefore, occasioned by the emigrations, cannot be made up by the rapid increase of this class of citizens ; but, on the contrary, the decrease in the population of this class, must be added to the number of emigrants who have gone away ; both which  
deficien-

## INTRODUCTION. Novii

deficiencies must be made up by the more rapid increase of some other class of citizens.—What order of citizens this is, let us now enquire.

It is not the butcher—for, his business will be in like manner diminished, not only by the loss of those of his customers who shall have emigrated from thence, but also by reason of the slackened demand from the farmer, in consequence of his being obliged to live more sparingly than before. For the same reason, the baker must be excepted; and also the brewer, the mason, the carpenter, smith, taylor, shoemaker, shop-keeper; in short, all those who are employed in furnishing any article of food, cloathing, or other necessaries of any sort for their fellow-citizens,—the business of each of whom suffers a decrease, not only on account of the abstraction of their former customers who have emigrated, but also by the diminished demand from each of their customers in any of the above-named classes, in consequence of the decline in their own circumstances, occasioned by the original emigration. Emigrations, therefore, considered in this view, instead of giving a general *stimulus* to the industry of all those who remain behind, and of thus tending to accelerate



## xcviii INTRODUCTION.

population, evidently tend to diffuse a general languor through the whole body of the people, to depress their industry, and to make them propagate more slowly than they otherwise would have done.

The only classes of citizens which will not be thus affected by emigrations, are those manufacturers who are solely employed in working up goods for foreign markets, and merchants who deal *entirely* in foreign trade. In regard to those of both these professions, who are in part employed in domestic business, they must suffer by the general calamity as others do, in as far as regards their home customers; and with regard to the foreign demand, considered merely in the general view, without regard to particular circumstances, it does not appear that they can be benefited in any perceptible degree. The rule, therefore, may be admitted as general, That emigrations from a place diminish the industry of the whole body of people, and retard their population; and that, on the contrary, an addition to the inhabitants of any place by migrations to it, tends to augment the number of its people, not only by the additional inhabitants thus brought to it, but also by the increased temptations to population it thus acquires. This general rule, thus deduced

from

## INTRODUCTION xcix

from the soundest principles by a chain of close reasoning, is confirmed by the universal experience of mankind. The examples are so numerous as not to require to be particularly specified.

The rule above, tho' *general*, is not *universal*. It admits of exceptions, which, though few, do yet, upon the present occasion, require to be very particularly specified.

If the emigrants, on leaving their native country, instead of roaming through the world at large, and being lost among the general mass of people in other nations, should choose to retire to a particular spot separated from all other nations, and should still continue to keep up a friendly correspondence with their parent country, taking from thence all the necessaries of which they stood in need, ~~that they could not furnish to themselves at home~~; in that case, it could not be said that the ~~whole~~ mass of the inhabitants suffered an essential loss by the emigration; as it might happen that some individuals might be gainers, and others not such great losers as they would have been had the emigrants retained no political connection with the parent estate. Here also we must descend to particulars, if we mean to speak with precision.

It appears at the first view, that on this supposition, the whole class of farmers (the newly-settled country being supposed to be a distant and fertile one) continue exactly in the same predicament as before; for, in the situation we have supposed; the emigrants are as far from requiring any supplies from *them*, as in any other case. For the same reason, the butchers, bakers, brewers, and in general all those numerous classes of the people who are employed in furnishing necessities for those at home, are equally depressed as on the former supposition. In this case, however, the clothier who works for the home market, would not suffer any diminution of business, if we could suppose that the emigrant continued still to take the *whole* of his cloathing from hence; But if he should think of manufacturing *any part* of his cloathing at his new home, our clothier must lose employment, and suffer a decline of business in proportion to the part thus manufactured by the emigrant at his new home, as the others above named would do. The merchant, however, who trades *thither*, may be a gainer by this new employment.—It thus appears, that, even

Here it will be observed, I consider the emigrants as *all* part of ourselves.

on this supposition, the industry of every class of inhabitants but the traders to the new settlements alone, must suffer a severe check; their wealth be diminished; and their natural procreation retarded.

Should it be said, that the people who go to these new settlements increase faster than they would have done at home; and that though they require not their *whole* cloathing from hence, their descendants in a short time will consume more of these manufactures than those descendants would have done had the original emigrants remained at home; and that thus they furnish equal or greater employment to the manufactures than if they had never left the country: All this, I would say, is merely *gratia dictum*, and requires to be proved before it can be admitted—a task that I presume no man who is to depart from general assertions, and come to state particulars, will ever attempt to perform. But, should he even succeed in this hopeless attempt, what would it prove?—merely, that instead of being highly injurious to the *whole* body of the people, these emigrations turned out to prove hurtful only to perhaps

† See, on this subject, the Interest of Great Britain in regard to her American Colonies considered, chap. 4.



ninety-nine out of a hundred of the inhabitants; and that, in regard to that hundredth part, it was at best no more than merely indifferent.

Having thus granted every thing that can possibly be demanded in favour of our own settlements, it appears, that emigrations *even to these*, scarcely proves in the smallest degree an exception to the general rule; as we are still forced to conclude, that every person who goes thither from hence, tends to diminish the employment of the whole mass of the people here, to depress their industry, and *discourage* population instead of encouraging it, as has been often asserted.

If we extend our views a little farther, it will appear, that migrations from a place are not less hurtful in their consequences in other respects to a manufacturing nation, more especially if

† Dr. Franklin, in conformity to that system he has thought necessary to adopt, draws a very different conclusion, or rather with a very different assertion, on this subject. 'There are' supposed (says he) to be upwards of one million of English souls in North America; and yet perhaps there is not one fewer in Britain, but rather many more, on account of the employment the Colonies afford to manufacturers at home. I quote this, as well as the former words of Dr. Franklin, from Mr. Howard's pamphlet on population, p. 22. not having the Doctor's own works to consult.

the

the new acquisitions obtained for the settlers should be attended with any expence to the present State.

We have already seen, that in consequence of migrations *from* a place, the numbers of the people in it are diminished in a two-fold manner, first by the exit of the emigrants themselves, and then by a retardation in the progress of generation; and as those who are left behind become also less easy in their circumstances, all taxes imposed upon them must at the same time become less productive and more oppressive than they would have been. This occasions a necessity of imposing new taxes even to keep up the old revenue, and taxes still more numerous to support the additional expence incurred by the new settlements; which numerous taxes, by oppressing the people, discourage manufactures, diminish trade, and occasion a national languor that would not have been felt had the people remained at home. On the contrary, had people been invited hither, the whole mass of the original inhabitants would have found their business to increase, the course of natural population would have been accelerated, taxes would become more productive, the revenue would have increased, manufactures would have flourished,

flourished, and the people would have lived in ease, affluence, and content. I beg the favour of that reader who is disposed to dispute these inferences, to prove the fallacy of the arguments by which they are established, by a fair and candid induction of particulars as I have here done. General assertions signify nothing.

Another exception has been alledged against the general rule above named, which here also requires to be considered. It has been said, that emigrants who go from home in poor and abject circumstances, not with a view to *perish forever*, but merely to obtain a livelihood, do sometimes so far succeed as to acquire a handsome fortune, with which they return to their native country, and, in spending that money, give employment to numbers around them; and thus excite a much larger degree of national industry than could have ever taken place had no one person ever gone from home.

In answering an objection thus generally stated, it would not be possible to obviate all difficulties, without entering into long and tiresome details. That a case could not be supposed in which the greatest possible acquisition of

† See this objection fully urged, *Gent. Mag.* for November 1782, p. 525.

## INTRODUCTION.

ev

money might not counterbalance a very small loss of people, I will not take upon me to affirm. I shall content myself with barely tracing, by a careful induction of particulars, the effects that will naturally accrue to the community in consequence of the return of individuals with money from abroad; after which we shall be enabled to draw some general conclusion.

In consequence of the departure of the emigrants, we have seen that the industry of the farmers, butchers, bakers, brewers, and all the other classes of the people who are engaged in domestic employments, or, in other words, almost the whole mass of the people without exception, has suffered a severe check. The question now is, will these inconveniencies be repaired by the arrival of the few men with their treasures? or, will other advantages accrue from the acquisition of these treasures, that shall be more than sufficient to overbalance these evils?—Let us try.

It does not appear that the loss to the farmer can be made up. These few individuals, when they do return, cannot consume, of *his* produce, more than a like number of the emigrants who went away would have done. No, nor near so much; for, almost the whole of the drink of  
those



these rich men and the luxurious guests they entertain, and a great part of their food, is brought from abroad. The farmer therefore gains little or nothing by their arrival, and he must still continue to languish under all the evils that sprang from the original emigrations.

The butcher, baker, brewer, &c. all are nearly under the same predicament. Each of them (I here speak of the whole of each class, without reference to individuals) gets only the addition of as many mouths as return, in place of the number that went away, and the children that might have naturally sprung from them; in which case, the loss of each would be perhaps as one hundred, and the gain only as one. The balance, therefore, is greatly against every one of those classes; so that *their industry upon the whole*, must be greatly diminished. The same remark applies to the tailor, shoemaker, clothier, and every other person who is employed in furnishing the necessaries of life; all of whom are great sufferers by the change.

What becomes of all the money, it will be said, which these rich men, on their return, lavish with so much prodigality?—Is not a considerable part of it expended for food, cloathing, and other necessaries of life for the rich man

## INTRODUCTION. ciii

man himself, and his numerous retainers? and does not the money thus expended, go into the pocket of the farmer, butcher, baker, and the others who furnish the different articles wanted, and thus tend to enrich *them all*? It is readily granted that all the facts stated are true, and that still the different classes of men above enumerated, are no farther benefited thereby than has been already stated. The only difference that takes place in consequence of this new arrangement, is, that some particular articles of consumption are now demanded in place of others that would have been consumed had things continued on their former footing; and that the money which pays for these is issued from the coffers of one man, instead of coming from the pockets of some hundreds. Where, hark, are the benefits that result from this trifling alteration? The persons whom this *Nabob* maintains, he did not create. Before his arrival they were in the country, and required food, cloathing, and other necessaries, as well as now, and therefore gave an equal quantity of employment as they now do. If it shall be said they now consume *more* than before, I answer, that in regard to the physical necessities of life, that is impossible. A poor man will eat

## VIII INTRODUCTION.

eat as much as a rich one. With regard to cloathing and other superfluities, the case *seems* to be more in favour of the rich; yet this will be found too to be only an illusion. The great man buys many suits of sumptuous apparel, yet he really *wears* no more than another. His cloaths, after he has done with them, pass from hand to hand, and thus save the expence of new ones to his inferiors downwards till they come to rag-fair, and serve as a tattered covering to some travelling mendicant. All this brilliant show is merely a deception. The mency he lavishes with such profusion, and which seems to diffuse such universal joy and activity around him, scarce excites one particle of industry more than before. It only shifts the scene, and produces a new appearance without any real change—at least for the better, in a manufacturing country.

But tho' it alters not the state of the *whole* in this point of view, it yet produces a won-

\* I hope no one, from this expression, will suppose it is meant to assert, that in consequence of the return of this person, no alteration *at all* is produced; for assuredly, in as far as the individual's own consumption extends, the community must be benefited. It was never meant to assert that *no* advantage is derived from their return. It is only the smallness of this benefit, when compared with the loss that is thus sustained, that authorises the mode of expression adopted in the text.

der.

derful change in the circumstances of many individuals. How far this change is for the benefit or hurt of the community at large, falls now to be considered.

No sooner does this man of riches arrive from abroad, than he finds occasion for numerous servants, lacqueys and attendants, which his money soon enables him to procure. These persons are collected from many quarters, and drawn from different employments, to add to the splendour, and subsist upon the riches of this monied stranger. That business which by their industry furnished them with a subsistence, is now abandoned for a life of pleasure and of ease. Perhaps a manufacturer, in consequence of the higher wages this man gives, is converted into a labourer, and so on. All the persons who subsist now by his means, were formerly subsisted either by furnishing necessities for their countrymen, or by manufacturing for strangers. In consequence of his arrival, those persons who would have been naturally induced to manufacture goods for a foreign market, and thus to draw from thence the means of their subsistence, find themselves enabled to live without it in idleness.\* The wages of labour-

\* In Spain, where this mode of emigration has been experienced in a higher degree than in any other European country,



years and manufacturers are raised, which it is well known tend to interrupt the demand from abroad, and ruin manufactures. In this manner, many individuals are enabled to live for a time in splendour, while the business of the nation at large is declining. No man, I presume, will say that this is a desirable state of things. This monied man, therefore, though he may maintain by his bounty or his extravagance a few men in idleness who must otherways have worked for their bread, cannot be said to have given an excitement to national industry in any way proportioned to the check it had received in consequence of the foreaid emigrations. In the places at a distance from him, that malady is increased by the additional drain of men from thence for furnishing his numerous retainers. The domestic employment of the people in these parts, therefore, continues to become still more and more languid. In the neighbourhood of such a monied man, indeed, that domestic employment is there augmented by the numbers his riches attract from the distant poorer provinces. These effects have also been more powerfully felt. We are thus enabled to account for some peculiarities relating to that country, which are otherways inexplicable.

## INTRODUCTION. 111

vinces\*. In consequence of the high wages he gives, manufactures in his own neighbourhood for foreign use, or even those for domestic purposes that can be brought from a distance, receive a check that occasions an essential injury to the nation.

There seems to be but one way in which national industry can ever be excited to its highest degree, that is, by inducing very great numbers of people to engage in such employments as produce necessities that can be transported to a foreign market. These numerous artificers thus constantly employed, must all be lodged, fed, and clothed by the labour of others of their fellow-citizens, who, in their turn, require the assistance of those who minister to their domestic wants. So long, therefore, as the commodities sent to a foreign market find a brisk sale, more men will engage in that business; and by consequence, the industry of all the others will be more and more excited, and their numbers will continue by natural procreation to augment. Whatever, therefore, tends to interrupt this primary business, will give a

\* These distant provinces are thus drained of their best inhabitants; and an unsurmountable poverty, in consequence of these discouraging drains, is there established.

check

check to all other employments. But it has been seen, that the sudden influx of money poured into the country by such a Nation as has been supposed, has a natural tendency to do what in some respects; and therefore, in so far it tends to weaken the pillars which support the fabric of national industry; or small profit

The demand from abroad for the articles we furnish, can only be increased in one of two ways; either by affording our goods at a low price, or by augmenting the wealth of our foreign customers. The last is not in our power to do in general, had we the will; our business therefore should be, to bend all our endeavours to attain the first. This will be almost effectually done, by keeping the people who are employed in that useful business, as much as possible in a continued train of uninterrupted industrious exertions. The disturbance, therefore, occasioned by such a sudden influx of riches as that above described, must prove highly detrimental to the general undertaking.

I am far, however, from insinuating, that wealth, in whatever way it is acquired or used, will always prove prejudicial to manufactures and commerce. Riches gradually gained, in

the

the prosecution of business, and judiciously applied towards carrying that to perfection, will prove highly beneficial, and will enable a nation possessing these resources, to outrival others who want them. But immense sums of wealth, which must necessarily be squandered in dissipation and luxury, if they are beneficial in one respect, prove detrimental in others, so as to leave it but in very few cases doubtful whether they do most harm or good.

On the whole, it appears, that as the check which the industry of the nation receives by emigration is real, and extends its influence through all classes of inhabitants; and as the acquisition of wealth in distant countries is precarious, and the advantages that result from the attainment of wealth thus suddenly acquired is more apparent than real; we must conclude, that the nation suffers upon the whole a much greater loss by numerous emigrations, than it gains by the riches brought home by the few who return in prosperous circumstances from abroad. This reasoning applies even to those cases where the money has been obtained from other nations: But when we come to consider those fortunes that are obtained from the public by jobs, contracts, frauds, and collusions, they



tend to disseminate so universally through the minds of all ranks of persons concerned, a spirit of vice, corruption, and licentiousness, as well as to discourage the sober exertions of industry, that they must be accounted in the highest degree pernicious; and those political arrangements that tend to give rise to such evils, deserve to be condemned as destructive and ruinous to the State †.

### NATIONAL SECURITY.

THE security of a nation consists in its having a force at all times at its command, sufficient to repel any attack that may be made on any of the territories of the State; or a power sufficient to overawe the neighbouring nations, so as to make them respect its subjects, and secure them from insults.

† A copy of what has been written above, on the subject of emigration, having been shewn to Dr. Price, he, with that liberality of mind which ever distinguishes the candid enquirer, politely made the following ingenious return:—"The notice Dr. Anderson has taken of an assertion of Dr. Price's, leaves him no other room for any other sentiment than that of gratitude. In that assertion he followed Dr. Franklin, and he is now disposed to think he did it too hastily." A copy of the same was transmitted to Dr. Franklin; but as no return has been obtained from the Doctor, he is uncertain if ever it reached his hand.

The

The force necessary to be kept in perpetual pay, will depend upon two circumstances, viz. *First*, The natural vulnerability of the territories; or the reverse. What I here chiefly mean, is the compact or detached nature of the different provinces: for, if these lie all together in one compacted whole, so as to admit of every one part either giving aid to, or receiving it from the others with ease and celerity when it may be wanted, the forces required for its defence will be infinitely smaller than where the parts are so scattered as not to admit of obtaining aid from each other when suddenly attacked; in which situation, every separate place must have a force continually in readiness for its own defence, on any unforeseen emergency.—*Secondly*, The perpetual force kept on foot may vary according to the energy the nation is known to possess, and the force it can with certainty command when occasion may call it forth: for, if these resources be great, it will command the respect of the neighbouring nations, as well for defenceless individuals, as for some weak places belonging to it. In point of frugality, therefore, nothing can be of such importance to a nation, as to try to put itself into such a situation as may allow it to rest in security, without being

at the expence of maintaining a great national force, but by merely keeping the power of defence at all times within its reach, ready to be called forth on a short warning whenever it may be necessary.

The resources of a nation consist also of two parts, viz. *first*, in the quantity of money that can be easily commanded, when the exigencies of the State may call for it; and, *second*, in the number of men qualified to act in the way that tends most effectually to defend the State, that can be obtained without much deranging the affairs of individuals, when they may be called for. Those political arrangements, therefore, which tend in the most effectual manner to answer these two purposes, must be accounted the best for insuring national security.

Let us now examine, upon these principles, how far the public measures pursued by the British nation for some time past, have been calculated to answer the purpose of national security; and try if she had it in her power, or still possesses the means of making any improvements in this respect.

For some centuries past, the great object we have aimed at, has been to establish distant colonies, and to obtain as many foreign possessions,  
and

## INTRODUCTION. cxvii

and as extensive settlements abroad, as possible. —But every person, at the first glance, can see that this was tending in the most direct manner to diminish the national security, as it rendered our territories infinitely more vulnerable than they would have been, had we confined our exertions solely towards augmenting the prosperity of the little compact spot that forms the basis of our empire, which, when considered in itself, is rendered by Nature so secure as scarcely to admit of any kind of annoyance from Foreign Powers. The consequence has been, that from the moment we obtained these external possessions, we have not only been obliged to keep on foot, at all times, a very great body of national forces, which would without them have been altogether unnecessary; but we have also been involved in a state of almost uninterrupted warfare, which has been attended with consequences that have already proved very distressing to the community, and threaten other consequences that are still more alarming.

These foreign possessions have not only diminished the national security, as above stated; but they have farther decreased it, by weakening our resources, and lowering our respectability among the nations. Instead, therefore, of  
being



being allowed to sit down with ease in a state of tranquil security, we are kept in a state of perpetual terror and alarm, so as to make our exertions at all times great, though our security is small. Like a bow perpetually bent, we are enfeebled by the unremitting strain; and when greater exertions become necessary, our energy is gone, and we become a feeble and a nerveless opponent.

Great would need to be the benefits that the nation reaps from those settlements, before they could compensate for the heavy misfortunes that must ever be the consequences of such a diminution in point of national security. But when we come coolly to investigate the benefits they bring in exchange for these evils, they are found to be in all respects more imaginary than real.

We have long been amused with the notion, that people sent from hence to our American colonies, tended to augment our domestic population and industry; and, absurd as this doctrine apparently is, it was believed by many people as a truth. The arguments adduced in the last section, show how exceedingly groundless it was. — I shall not here add farther on this subject, than barely to mention, that, by a calculation  
which

## INTRODUCTION. cxi

which never has been controverted †, to which I refer in the note, it has been shown, that at no time did the inhabitants of our colonies in America ever consume, of British produce or manufactures, to the amount of twenty shillings value *per annum*, whereas the same persons in Britain consume to the value of twenty pounds at least:—So that, had we still retained these possessions, any number of inhabitants there could not have excited above one twentieth part of the national industry as if they had been in Britain; while our exertions in their defence as a part of the British empire, must for each person have been more than as twenty to one that it would have been had they remained in Britain.

And why should we diminish our own national security, for the sake of such possessions? Experience has confirmed what reason dictated, that no revenue can ever be derived from thence. And if trade is the object in view, we now see, that no sooner is that trade worth the coveting, than it must be laid open to all the world. (I here speak in conformity with the absurd notion, that the trade of a nation so

† See the Interest of Great Britain with regard to her American Colonies considered, chap. 22.

situated

situated as those I speak of, can in any case be effectually confined into any one channel that shall be proposed). But, independent of this consideration, is it not plain that colonies are not in the least an essential requisite for trade? Spain has large colonies, with scarce any trade: Holland has a very extensive trade, with scarce any colonies: Our own trade to Holland, tho' that country is no part of our dominions, is much greater than it ever was to America; and our trade to America now, were we disposed to give as large credits as formerly, would be much greater than it ever was at any former period. Trade is much more effectually secured by the cheapness of commodities, and extent of credit given, than by any restraining power that ever can be devised. But, as the waste of money expended on national defence, with its other necessary accompaniments, tend to enhance the price of manufactures, and curtail the profits of the merchant, we have been pursuing a course in this respect directly the reverse of that we should have followed had the extension of trade been the only object in view.

Our settlements in the West-Indies, however unpopular the doctrine may be, will be found, upon examination, to be equally hurtful and  
unpro-

## INTRODUCTION. cxxi

unprofitable. In point of safety, they are evidently more vulnerable, and consequently more liable to all the objections originating from thence than even our American colonies were. As tending to encourage the industry of the Parent State, they are also inferior to the former. As settlements cultivated by means of British capitals, they are liable to still greater objections: For, though it could be proved (which it never can, but the reverse) that the same capital laid out on a West-India settlement, yielded a greater return than in Britain, still the capital there laid out is withdrawn from this country, and placed in another, which we hold by such a slender tenure as scarcely to deserve the name of belonging to us. It is, in short, no part of the empire, whether we consider it with respect to national security, resources as to men, or revenue in money. Thus, in a national view, the whole capital there employed, like the whole persons sent from hence to America, tend to diminish our national wealth, in a degree very much disproportioned to the returns we ever can hope to derive from thence.

And what do we obtain from thence in return? Sugar and rum, and coffee, to increase the luxury of our tables: All which we might have



## cxli INTRODUCTION.

have obtained from thence, or from some other nation, in exchange for the native commodities and manufactures that might have been produced, with much more national economy, by the capital and exertions that reared them there;—and cotton for our manufactures, which might have been reared in Africa, by the miserable beings who now cultivate it in the West-Indies, at a much smaller expence than it can be afforded for by our own settlers.—Thus would have been laid the foundation of a trade, which, as it would have given encouragement to the industry of the people in Africa, would have augmented with their prosperity, and might long before this time have become an object of astonishing magnitude. But, as, without adverting to these considerations, the settlements in question were begun, and as minded men have now got capitals so deeply engaged in these undertakings as not to allow them a power to recede, they find themselves interested in supporting them as long as it is possible, without regard to any sort of public considerations whatever. The whole influence, therefore, of such men, (and great, it is well known, that influence is), must be continually exerted to invalidate every argument

## INTRODUCTION. cixiii

ment that shall be produced to open the eyes of the people in this respect. This is one of the many evils that attend rash and inconsiderate undertakings, which cannot be obviated. The thinking part of the nation is now in general convinced, that our colonies have proved, and ever must prove ruinous to the State; yet we have not ceased to make establishments of that sort. As if we did not know that in a few years we must submit to a great expence, with a view to render them as independent of ourselves as those other settlements now are with which they are so nearly connected: as if we were not sensible, that, in protecting them in the mean time, we laid a foundation for disputes and wars, which must subject us to a great waste of men and treasures, and can never be productive of the smallest national emolument.

From the same motives, and from the secret hope of participating in the gains that may be obtained from the spoils of distant settlements, the Public has been long amused with the notion, that the salvation even of this nation (I here make use of words that have been often repeated in Parliament) depends upon the prosperity of the East-India-Company, and the preservation of our settlements in Asia;—an idea which seems  
to

to be acquiesced in without examination by people of all parties, tho' it is not easy to discover how these things should be so when they are attentively examined. The trade to India affords to the Exchequer, it is true, a considerable revenue. But, in what manner is that revenue produced? By duties arising from the sale of tea, and other East-India goods, imported into this country, and consumed by the people of this nation. It is the people, therefore, of this nation, who pay that revenue; and they would continue to pay it for the same commodities, were these obtained by any other means than that of the East-India Company. And as it is possible at least, that these articles might be furnished equally cheap by other means, it does not, from this view of the subject, clearly appear, that the India Company is of that vast importance it has been so often represented to be. Without entering into a very minute examination of this matter, I may here be allowed to remark, that the benefits derived to the revenue from these duties, are apt to appear much more considerable than they really are †.—But, were

† These articles are stated in the gross as paying a high duty; but that duty is again, in many cases, wholly drawn  
of these

these duties much higher than they actually are, and of much greater national importance than they have ever yet been called, unless it could be proved that the same articles could not be obtained by means of a fair trade, without the burthen of extensive foreign settlements to protect, it proves nothing. This point seems to be fully ascertained by the experience of the East-India Company itself. We have no settlements in China, nor any exclusive privileges of trade to that country; yet it is admitted on all hands, that it has been the profits on the trade

back on exportation. By an account stated in the 21st Appendix to the first Report of the Committee of Parliament on illicit practices, it appears that the duty paid on coffee imported into Britain, in the years 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773, amounted to L. 349,728 : 3 : 5. And by No. 23d in the same Appendix, it appears that the drawbacks for coffee exported during the same years, amounted to L. 218,925 : 5 : 1; so that little remained behind.—By the same account it appears, that the drawbacks in the years 1779, 1780, 1781, and 1782, amounted to a sum equal to the whole duties paid, wanting only L. 689. 9s. 10d. : So that the net average duty remaining on this article, during these four years, was no more than L. 172. 7s. 54d. *per annum*.

By the Appendix to the same Report, No. 23d, it appears that the average duties arising upon East-India goods, during the four last-mentioned years, amounted on an average to something less than L. 800,000 *per annum*.—But the account



to China alone that has saved the East-India Company from bankruptcy, (if they be not actually bankrupt at present, as many persons very boldly assert): And it is a fact that will not be denied, that ever since that Company obtained those extensive territories in Bengal, which inspired the flattering notion of deriving immense wealth from thence, not as traders, but as territorial proprietors, their affairs have been continually going from bad to worse;— and the Nation at large, instead of receiving from that quarter those supplies which it had a right to expect and to demand in its present distressful situation, has been obliged to launch out into farther expences on their account. —

count is accompanied with this notandum—“ *There can be no account raised of the drawbacks of these duties repaid on exportation; for, according to the present and antient method of exportation, India goods (as well as any other particular species) are entered out, and exported, mixed with different species of merchandise indiscriminately, at the will of the exporter, from the whole of which the drawbacks are computed: And by the present system of the custom-duties by branches, the sum of the whole drawback is so necessarily raised, without any possibility of dividing or applying the same to any respective or particular species or quantities. Thus it happens, that those who look at the national accounts for information on this subject, are misled, and form a much higher idea of the importance of these matters, as branches of the revenue, than they actually deserve.*

Hopes,

## INTRODUCTION. cxxxvii

Hopes, in the mean time, are seemingly entertained, that those disorders which have hitherto prevailed there, will quickly be suppressed; and that that wealth which has ever been promised from thence, will with certainty be obtained at last. Men, in this case, do not seem to reflect, that a country which is already in a great measure despoiled of its treasures, is less able to furnish a copious revenue than it was when those abounded. They will not seemingly allow themselves to see, that the people, harrassed by arbitrary exactions, and diminished in number by cruel regulations, will be less willing to exert themselves, and less capable of producing manufactures and facilitating commerce, than before these oppressive exactions took place. They will not permit themselves to believe, that Princes, irritated by repeated injuries, and insulted by the most wanton exertions of power, will not endeavour to reclaim their native rights, tho' recent experience has fully proved, that they neither are insensible of the one, nor inattentive to the other. They will not acknowledge, because they wish it not to be believed, that the natives of those regions can ever be made to cope with the Europeans in arms: yet there is not perhaps a man in India, or in Britain, who  
has

## xxxviii INTRODUCTION.

has seriously investigated these points, who will not see reasons for drawing very different conclusions. Such a man will perceive, that all attempts to check the rapacity of men who have power in their hands, and the means of corrupting the course of justice, are visionary projects, that never yet have been, and never can be realised. Such a man will know, that while injustice and oppression must of necessity for ever prevail, peace, tho' apparently obtained, is merely a cessation from hostilities, that will be quickly renewed. To such a man, the promise of that wealth which is to arise from peaceful industry and arts, must appear like the passing cloud edged with gold, which quickly passes away, and cannot be recalled. The plea of necessity in all human affairs, he well knows, must ever be admitted before any other; and that plea, he sees, will soon have occasion to be pleaded in this case. The time, he will perceive, is not apparently far distant, when all the power that can be commanded by that potent Company, and all the exertions of this Nation in its favour, will be vain. Their possessions, he will see good reasons to be satisfied, will be wrested from them; and we shall then, by the same plea of necessity, be obliged  
to

## INTRODUCTION. cxxx

to sit down contented with the heavy loss that the nation has sustained; by its exertions to obtain and preserve a territory, which can at best be only considered, with respect to Britain, as a nursery of crimes, and a seminary for rapacity and other shameful enormities.

I wish that these remarks should not be considered as the casual effusions of a spleenetic humour, but as serious conclusions, deduced from a careful attention to the effects that have invariably resulted from a similar plan of conduct in all ages.—Carthage was not conquered by Rome, till the constitution of her government was relaxed by the power of corruption that individuals acquired in her provincial governments, and the extortions and intrigues which these of necessity occasioned. Rome was not subdued by the Barbarians, till long after she was enslaved by her own citizens, and repeatedly insulted by troops paid by the spoils, first of her distant provinces, and then of the best citizens of the State themselves. The universal system of corruption which wealth thus amassed introduced among all ranks of people, soon rendered those salutary laws of no effect, which, in the virtuous days of the Republic, made her be respected by all nations:



and with her laws, her vigour and her power were totally annihilated. In more modern times, Spain affords a lesson that ought to be still more striking than any of these, because *her* case so nearly resembles *our own* in every particular. That nation was eminent in arts, unrivalled in industry, and great in arms. Her people enjoyed a great degree of freedom, under the influence of a government more similar to that of Britain than any other that ever was known in the world—they were of course active, enterprising, and wealthy. While she was in these prosperous circumstances, that nation acquired territories abroad of boundless extent, inhabited by a numerous people, and possessing what was then thought exhaustless treasures\*. To govern these extensive distant territories, many viceroys were wanted, and an infinite number of inferior tools were required. These persons necessarily entrusted with power, exercised it only for their own emolument: the natives were plundered, maltreated, extirpated. Laws at home were enacted to repress these enormities, and to bring

\* At the period here alluded to, Spain possessed not only the whole Continent of South America, and the West-India Islands; but also in Europe, were Lords of Portugal, Naples, Sicily, and the Netherlands, besides many very extensive settlements in Asia and Africa.

## INTRODUCTION. cxxxi

the offenders to punishment—but in vain. Those persons, who, by trampling on the laws, had amassed treasures greater than any individuals before that were ever known to possess, returned home in triumph, as if to brave the Legislature whose ordinances they had contemned. By dextrous distribution of part of their wealth among leading men, the reasons for their conduct were so explained as to obtain the public thanks of that very tribunal which ought to have condemned them to the most ignominious and exemplary punishment\*.

\* The following anecdote is told of a Grandee of Spain. On his return from a viceroyship in America, complaints were loud against him, and he was publickly accused of peculation in office, extortion, and all kinds of enormities; he having stuck at nothing that promised suddenly to increase his wealth. Of this general clamour he complained to a friend, whose advice he begged, in what manner he should conduct himself on that occasion; who gave this memorable reply—"If, says he, the complaints against you are well founded, the difficulty can be easily removed. You have only to make a proper application of a part of the treasures thus obtained, and all will go well. But if you be really calumniated, you are certainly undone."—How deplorable is the state of a country when it is reduced to such a pass, where villany becomes a trade, and innocence is reprobated as folly, or shunned as dangerous! Yet, to such a pass must every nation come at last, where war is a trade, and where distant provinces are governed by a delegated authority.

## CCXXII INTRODUCTION.

This soon came to be generally understood; and their proper plan of conduct as quickly digested into a regular system. An honest man, whenever he appeared among them, was proscribed, insulted, banished; so that his single evidence, contradicted by a whole host of others, was condemned as groundless investive:—Honesty and folly thus became synonymous terms\*. A general system of corruption quickly pervaded all departments of Government. Those who should have been the guardians of the privileges of the people, became the tools made use of by Government to do away their privileges. The people soon became the slaves of a despot, whose will alone, instead of that of the representatives of the people themselves, became the only law; and they gradually sunk into that state of insignificance, for which they are now remarkable even to a proverb.

These are facts so generally known, as not to admit of dispute.—But, we forget the gradual steps by which that catastrophe was imperceptibly brought on her. We lose sight of the hopes that were kept alive; and of the expectations of future wealth and grandeur that would be derived from thence, that were continually in-

\* See the Writings of Antonio de Las Casas.

dulged,

## INTRODUCTION. cxxxiii

dulged, till long past the time that they were irrecoverably ruined. We forget the strenuous exertions at home for preventing irregularities abroad, and the numberless regulations that were made for suppressing disorders, that only continued to multiply like the Hydra's heads, by every effort to destroy them. We do not consider these evils as arising from the circumstances of the case; but are rather disposed to view the perpetrators of these enormities, as monsters of an unusual kind, who, in any situation, would have been a disgrace to humanity.—I must not here enter fully into this disquisition, or it would be a very easy matter to shew that the Spanish nation at large was not more indifferent to those transactions than other nations; and that the character of individuals in that country, in respect of sound integrity and unsullied honour, might be compared with any others on the globe: Nor would it be an uninteresting detail, to point out the gradual steps by which these events were naturally produced, were this a proper place to enter upon it.—Here I shall only briefly observe on this subject, that plunder and rapine under the sanction of Government, tho' they furnish an abundant supply to those who first begin the trade,



## cxxxiv INTRODUCTION.

trade, become gradually less and less productive, But the prospect of thus suddenly acquiring wealth is so very alluring, as in a very short time to extinguish, among a people who have the prospect of this within their reach, all desire of obtaining a moderate competency in life, by the slower operations of a painful industry. This prospect suddenly enticed from their native country, immense numbers of adventurers, the greatest part of whom never found their way home. The wars which these distant territories occasioned, carried off many more. So that the Parent State thus exhausted of its people, felt that decline in its manufactures and agriculture which has been proved to be the necessary and unavoidable consequence of a diminution of its people. Enfeebled by these means, and dispirited by the loss of that freedom of Government which alone could have restored their lost vigour, every spirited exertion was repressed among the people. In the mean time, the expenditure of the State became enormous. The ruined natives of the distant dominions, sunk under the weight of their calamities, and dwindled almost to nothing.—Plunder could then be no longer obtained from thence; and the trade which the natives of those countries

## INTRODUCTION. CXXXV

countries might have afforded, became extinct. The revenue derived from thence was nearly nothing, and national bankruptcy ensued.—Domestic revenue, because of the decrease of people, and decline of national industry, fell far short of its usual amount. To make up this deficiency, new taxes were adopted, and the old ones were levied with an increased severity.—These have proved a perpetual check to any attempt at returning industry:—

And

† It has ever appeared to me not a little extraordinary, that in the settlements European nations have made in distant countries, so little attention should have been bestowed on the advantages that might have been derived from the commerce with the natives, had they been properly encouraged, and gradually induced to adopt the arts of civil life. In our communication with European States, we seem ever to view them only as customers for our own commodities; and in our intercourse with the nations of Asia and Africa, and the West Indies, we seem only to consider them as furnishing materials for us to purchase; in which class we rank the human species as a considerable article. It is, however, sufficiently plain to any thinking being, that were the people who inhabit those extensive regions brought to relish the sweets of polished society, and were our intercourse with them confined to a friendly interchange of commodities, a very wide market would be opened for many commodities and manufactures we could furnish; and as abundant a supply of productions, which minister to our wants, and furnish materials for manufactures, would be afforded to us in return; which would

cxixvi INTRODUCTION.

And the people are doomed to poverty and indolence, till the time shall arrive, when some happy revolution shall knock off those shackles which so effectually bar all exertions at present.

Such have been the consequences of these measures that Spain pursued with an ardour of hope in the day of her exaltation, that left no room for deep reflection. These events have

would lay the foundation of an extensive trade, to which the human imagination can set no boundary. Had we, for instance, instead of bringing away at first by open violence or hidden fraud, the natives of Africa, and leading them into slavery, and afterwards sowing the seeds of perpetual discord among them, with a view to obtain by purchase a continued supply to make up for the people we had destroyed, and continue to destroy in the West Indies: Had we, I say, instead of that conduct, encouraged them to cultivate the arts of peace, by purchasing such commodities as they had, and encouraging them to rear other productions that were natural to these climates, we might thus long ere now have obtained from thence, by an advantageous barter, sugar, coffee, cotton, and other products of warm countries, at probably less than one half the price we now must pay for them, without exhausting our treasures, or deranging our own domestic oeconomy; and at the same time we would have secured a set of customers for our own commodities, that would have furnished uninterrupted employment to all our people, had they increased to a hundred times their present number. If Asia be considered in the same light, the prospect is boundless, and not less pleasing than extensive.

actually

## INTRODUCTION. cxviii

actually taken place, and are not hypothetical conjectures: They were *necessary*, and not accidental consequences of the measures she pursued. The situation of Britain, in as far as regards her Indian territories, is so nearly the same with that of Spain in former times, that a careless reader might mistake the description above given, as one intended for our own provinces. What reason is there to believe, that a similar conduct, if persisted in, will not be productive of similar events? In as far as we have yet gone, every thing proceeds in the same train:—the same unbounded lust of wealth in those abroad,—the same disregard to the rights of individuals and the claims of humanity there,—the same *apparent* regard for justice and humanity in the representations made by all parties at home and abroad with respect to special complaints,—the same system of private corruption,—the same disregard of laws from home,—the same apologies for past failure,—the same promises of future advantages:—every thing seems to be the same except the prospect that the natives in the neighbourhood of our settlements, by the aid of European politics and discipline, will be able to vindicate their rights before we shall have had time finally



finally to ruin ourselves by accomplishing their utter destruction, and thus bringing on a catastrophe similar to that of the unfortunate nation whose steps we so emulously tread, regardless of that lesson which her fate, so recently in our view, ought long ere now to have taught us.

From these considerations, I should be sorry indeed to be obliged to acquiesce in the opinion that the salvation of Britain depends in any degree on the prosperity of the East-India Company or the preservation of our distant territories, as our ruin in that case would be certain, speedy, and unavoidable. Happily for Britain, there seems to be no reason for believing that that is the case. The crash of such a Company, when it comes, must no doubt occasion much private distress and internal confusion in the State; but that will prove only a temporary inconvenience†. The real danger to be appre-

† The reasonings with respect to the East-India Company, are so nearly similar to those that were used in the days of Elizabeth in favour of the then powerful Company of the *Merchant Adventurers*, that a man who had slept two hundred years, would believe, when he awoke, that no time had intervened. Yet that Company was dissolved, not only without producing the ruin of the nation, as its advocates maintained, but even to the very great emolument of the community; and the very name of that Company is now in a great measure forgot, tho' it was then considered as the most important object in the nation.

hended,

## INTRODUCTION. cxxxix

hended, will arise from the exertions that may possibly be made to stave off an event which cannot long be avoided, and which ought not perhaps to be dreaded.—The age of monopolies is now passed:—Armed companies are not now necessary, whatever they may once have been, to overawe the nations, and protect the traders in Asia:—Sovereigns are there already so enlightened, as to be sensible of the value of trade, and the benefits that they may derive from the encouragement of it. All that is wanted to make traders equally free, and the subjects of different States equally respected in India as in Europe, is to banish from the minds of the natives the fear of ruining themselves by the favours they shall be brought to confer on European traders†: And the time, it is hoped, approaches, when their power will be such as to repress our audacity, and when, in-

† The Princes of India, who, from simplicity, or affection to particular European nations, have been induced to grant them any friendly indulgences, have, without exception, had reason sore to rue the time when they were so blinded by these arts as to comply with their desires: for, slavery and oppression have been the only returns they have obtained for those friendly offices. The history of the European transactions in India is one continued proof of this fact.

stead

cxl INTRODUCTION.

stead of being conquerors and plunderers, we shall be forced to assume the more humble, but at the same time the more useful and becoming character of merchants†. Then shall we be cordially

† I cannot conceive an idea of an establishment that would be more useful to Europe, more beneficial to Asia and Africa, more friendly to the interests of mankind in general, or more honourable to the nation which should carry it into practice, than for a European nation (and Britain is obviously the best qualified to do it) to form a large mercantile mart on some of the small Indian islands, upon a liberal plan, for the sole encouragement of trade, without any views of monopoly to themselves or restraint upon others. To this place people of all nations, and countries, and languages, should be free to resort, every individual being alike certain of obtaining justice and protection while there; and all goods, from whatever quarter they come, or however imported, to be free to be exposed to sale in a public market, on paying, without distinction, a duty of *one per centum ad valorem*, and no more, according to an equitable tariff established for that purpose, and printed, that all persons might know these dues. The civil government of this mart to be entrusted to a Council of inhabitants of the place freely chosen by the other inhabitants, without distinction of country, or sect, or religion, modelled upon the most perfect plan that could be devised for preserving political and religious freedom, with a due respect to the laws and regulations of the civil magistrate. The military government to be under their authority also. The whole expence of the military and civil establishment of that place, and nothing more, to be paid from the public revenue there, to the State that established it.—Such a mart in some of the smaller African Islands beyond the Cape would

## INTRODUCTION. cxi

cordially respected and beloved; which will produce an amicable intercourse, infinitely more beneficial to the community at large, tho' less flattering to the pride of individuals, than that which has prevailed ever since Europeans found the way to those extensive regions by sea.—

would be peculiarly well situated for facilitating the commerce from Europe: and if others were established on the same plan on some other of the smaller islands beyond it, so as to form a regular chain to the Moluccas and China, the beneficial consequences would be inconceivably great. European nations which entertain such a jealousy and rivalry of each other in those parts, might in this way have an opportunity of exercising the principles of rivalry without hurting either themselves or others: for they might vie with each other in a laudable emulation to try which of them could devise the most faultless plan, and establish an institution that would be best calculated to promote the prosperity of the whole, and preserve the rights of humanity. *Small* islands are, in the above plan, expressly mentioned as the only proper ones for the purpose, because it would prevent the necessity of interfering in the government of the natives of the country. These also should be at a considerable distance from the main land, as this would tend to preserve them from the danger of any sort of attack from the native powers of the East.—Tho' it would be easy to demonstrate the great benefits that every European mercantile nation would derive from such an institution, accompanied with a total relinquishment of all other territorial jurisdiction or commercial immunities in India, yet the Reader will not think me weak enough to expect ever to see such a beneficial institution adopted.

Our



## cxlii INTRODUCTION.

Our domestic industry will be thus encouraged, our population encreased, our revenue augmented, and the nation be secured from insult without those overstrained exertions which have brought us into the perilous situation in which we at present find ourselves placed.

## GENERAL INFERENCES.

FROM the whole of the foregoing induction, we are led to perceive that the want of success in the different attempts that have been made to establish the Fisheries on the coasts of Scotland, has been occasioned by circumstances of a civil and political nature which have not hitherto been sufficiently adverted to, and not in the least to natural causes: That the indolence usually attributed to the people of those regions, is entirely occasioned by the dispersed nature of their habitations, which prevents the natives from having it in their power to engage in any kind of active pursuit with the smallest prospect of profit; and that their poverty, which is almost proverbial, in like manner originates from the same cause: That the revenue, instead of being augmented by people, in these circumstances must be greatly diminished thereby; and that no regulations of police which do not tend

to

to bring the people into close compacted societies, can ever remove these great and radical evils†. We are led farther to perceive, that extent of empire, in circumstances similar to those of Britain, never can tend to augment the trade or revenue of the State; but that it  
in

† One objection to the plan of establishing large towns. in the Hebrides that may be expected to originate from the narrow prejudices of illiberal minds, in which a jealousy of being hurt by the competition of any kind of rival is always a very predominant feature, must not be overlooked. ‘Why (says such a one who happens to be a merchant in London, I suppose) should we strive to raise up new cities in other parts of this island, in which merchants may establish themselves, who will become our rivals in trade, and thus diminish our employment? Let us rather unite in time, and oppose the measure so as to crush it in the bud, which, if suffered to go on, would prove in the highest degree injurious to our interests.’

It is humiliating to the pride of man to think that such objections should be so generally made and require to be so often answered by pointing to the general experience of mankind for a proof of the groundlessness of such popular fears. Amsterdam and Cadiz are two flourishing emporiums, which, in the judgment of these men, stand forth as hated and hurtful rivals to London. Is it possible that any man of business can seriously believe that this is the case? But if it is not so, how could the new cities proposed prove hurtful rivals to London or any other trading place in Britain?—Let us for a moment suppose that an earthquake had swallowed up these two fancied rival cities, or that the sea had broke in upon them and buried them in irrecoverable

in an amazing degree diminishes the national security, and weakens its resources: That if colonies are planted and protected at the expence of the Parent State, it holds forth strong allurements to emigrations among the lower classes of the citizens; and that these emigra-  
tions

verable ruin,—what, in such a case, would be the consequence to the traders and trading interest of Britain?—an immediate stagnation of trade to an inconceivable amount, which would prove the instant ruin of a great number of merchants, and which would give a shock to the industry and manufactures of this country that would require ages to replace. If, then, these places are of such essential utility to the trade of Britain at present, by taking commodities from us to such a great extent, [The exports to Holland are usually about two millions value per annum, sometimes near three, as in *anno* 1749, when they amounted to £. 2,716,143. That to Spain is usually about one million; *anno* 1750, it amounted to £. 1,783,873. The average exports from Britain are about thirteen millions value. So that the trade to these two places is little short of one third of the whole that is carried on by Britain. [See Whitworth's Tables.], why should they be considered as hurtful rivals to us?—If the ruin of these two populous cities would prove so extensively hurtful to the merchants of London and elsewhere, is it not a necessary consequence, that by a converse of this reasoning, these merchants would be proportionally benefited by the creating one other such city, or of five hundred such, could it be possible to accomplish that?—Man wishes ever to monopolize to himself those things he highly values; but benignant Heaven, by its all-wise decrees, has in all cases ordered things so  
that

tions have an unavoidable tendency to depress industry, and diminish the employment of the manufacturer at home: That if distant provinces inhabited by foreign people, are subjected by force, and governed by a delegated authority, it gives rise to a spirit of rapine among those who are entrusted with authority,

that the interest of individuals, when rightly understood, is best promoted by the prosperity of the whole. Make one country rich and flourishing, its very enemies, if they know their own interest, are benefited thereby. But if even opposing countries are benefited by the prosperity of each other, the individuals in the same country must be benefited in a much higher degree by the prosperity of all its parts.—Whatever, therefore, tends to raise up new and flourishing cities in any part of this island, so far from creating hurtful rivals in trade to those who are already engaged in that business, only raises up a new set of customers who will tend to increase his trade and augment his profits.—While they call for many commodities from him that never could have been wanted had not these establishments taken place, they furnish him in return with many articles which enable him to extend his trade with others whom he could not but for this have had occasion to serve.—In this manner it becomes highly the interest of every trader to promote the establishment of new towns and the introduction of new manufactures. Every thing, therefore, that tends to effect these purposes, ought to be viewed by him in the most friendly light, and claims his warmest support, instead of that jealous opposition which can only originate from ignorance and ill-judged selfishness.

K

which



which cannot be controuled. The natives are fleeced by every art that cunning can invent or power enforce, till they become stripped of all their proverty, oppressed, enslaved, extirpated. This is the natural progression with regard to them†.—With respect to ourselves;—the vast sums of money that are thus hastily amassed at the beginning, awakens a spirit of adventure among people of rank and education, who go thither in multitudes to participate in that golden harvest, which, for a time, furnishes such abundant

† When despotic power is established in a distant province, (and all delegated authority in these circumstances is such, however much names and appearances may be adopted to soften it), if the people have wealth, or a knowledge of useful arts, the first step is to despoil them of that wealth by force or fraud, or to convert that industry to the sole benefit of the ruling power. For this purpose, an infinite number of devices are adopted, all tending to strip the people of their lawful property.—Wealth, in these circumstances, is soon exhausted; and manufactures in a short time decline. This deficiency, so chilling to the hopes of those in power, produces severities on the people. They are punished with a view to excite greater exertions. This fails of its desired effect. Indolence is loudly complained of as a native vice of the people, which nothing but the severest chastisements can overcome. They are chastised without mercy; which produces among people who feel they have no power to resist, no other effect but a desponding stupidity and morose sullenness of behaviour. The vices thus produced by maltreatment,

## INTRODUCTION. cxlvii

abundant supplies as to appear altogether inexhaustible. The arts of domestic industry are thus despised—the improvement of the native country is neglected as an object comparatively insignificant—a spirit of dissipation and extravagance prevails—and no time can be spared to enter into a sober investigation of the state of the necessary arts and the situation of the lower classes of the people. It is not perceived, during that period of delusion, that the sources of wealth, so easily and so suddenly acquired from

K 2

the

ment, are then said to be owing to the natural debility and wickedness of the people. They are accounted as beings of an inferior kind scarcely deserving to rank among the human species, who must of necessity be treated with exceeding harshness, and whose lives are reckoned of as little account as any other of the inferior classes of animals.—Such is the representation that has been given of the natives of the new world by many Spanish Authors, as an apology for that cruel devastation committed among them by their rapacious Lords. And, to the disgrace of the eighteenth century, some eminent writers of the present age, instead of placing these things in their true light, have not been ashamed to become the apologists of those ravagers, who, with not less political blindness than relentless cruelty, extirpated so many nations of their fellow-creatures. The same conduct that ruined the new world in the fifteenth century, has already in part produced in the present age, the destruction of some of the best provinces in Asia. Several districts in the fertile province of Bengal are already totally depopulated: And  
those

cxlviii INTRODUCTION.

the spoils of the subjected people, are gradually and rapidly drying up; and that in a short time, the labours of the despised poor *at home* will be all that can be depended on both for revenue, trade, and defence.

To add to the unobserved evils that thus beset a country in these circumstances on every side, it must happen, that in the moment of pride and fancied exaltation, occasion will be given for frequent wars and never-ceasing disputes with Foreign States. On these occasions

those people who half-a-century ago were the admiration of the whole world for their indefatigable industry, are now loudly accused of a spirit of indolence which nothing but severities can possibly overcome. (See Verelst's View).—Thus are we proceeding in the same natural train of deterioration with our predecessors: And if the same system could be there pursued for half-a-century more, I should not be surprised to see these very people whose ingenious labours have been often admired in Europe, be accounted the most stupid and stubborn race of mortals in the world, upon whom nothing but severities could operate. And why should we be surprised at this, when we know that at the present hour, many persons account the natives of our own Highlands as so much addicted to indolence as to be incapable of being ever induced to make any vigorous exertions, though every inhabitant of Britain has it in his power to observe, by his daily experience, that these people when put into the same situation with others, never fall behind either with respect to mental or bodily exertions, but often outstrip all their competitors!

money

money must be expended with a wasteful profusion, which sets open a wide door to multiplied abuses that no human ingenuity can guard against. Fortunes in this way are acquired with a facility that tends still more and more to make the sober arts of peaceful industry be neglected and despised. In these circumstances, every object seems to merit attention but that alone which can preserve the future prosperity of the State, the well-being of the lower orders of the people: and those few persons who try to turn the attention towards objects of the first importance, find, that in the giddy whirl of varied amusements, no time can be spared to examine it.

Even when matters come to such a crisis as to obtrude themselves in some degree on the attention of the Public: when the Treasury is exhausted, and calls for money become so urgent as not to admit of a delay, it is a matter of infinite difficulty to adopt any radical system of reform, as every effectual reform must clash with the interest of so many powerful individuals, whose influence may so derange the best concerted plans of any Minister, that scarce anything farther can be done than to adopt some temporary expedients to shift off the pressure of



## cl      INTRODUCTION.

of the evil for the present hour, without so much as an attempt to ward off those evils which we have seen increasing for many years, by adopting some measures of radical importance, by the encouraging of manufactures, and promoting a spirit of industry and sobriety among all ranks of people at home, which would tend gradually to eradicate those disorders.

Instead of that moderate and wise conduct which would have been natural and in some measure unavoidable had we never extended our views to foreign dominions, we are now oppressed with a load of debt, to pay the interest of which, almost every article that can be used as food, or employed in manufactures, is so highly taxed as greatly to enhance the price of all our manufactures in every market, and by consequence to diminish their sale and discourage the industry of our people. We have even been so hard pushed in this respect, as in some cases to be reduced to the necessity of taxing not only the materials of manufactures, but the very manufactures themselves. Such pre-

cisely  
 † This mode of taxation is peculiarly destructive, not only because of the additional price with which it loads the manufacture, but more particularly because it cramps the vigorous exertions of enterprising individuals, by restrictive regulations, which are incompatible with that principle of freedom which alone

## INTRODUCTION. cli

cisely was the conduct of Spain: Her manufactures of course declined, her people diminished in number, her industry abated, and her revenue continued to decrease in spite of every device that could be adopted to prevent it.

It is not in this case only that we have suffered by our fatal predilection for distant dominions, and the wars that these have naturally occasioned.—By being obliged to impose duties upon duties on almost every article of commerce with a view to augment the revenue, we now find that the revenue yielded by these articles when moderate, has been diminished in a very surprising degree; and thus has been laid the foundation of a smuggling trade to an astonishing extent:—a kind of trade, which, when it once prevails in any State, insensibly, but very rapidly produces its ruin,—as it acts like a canker in a threefold respect, which quickly would overpower the strongest constitution that ever existed.

In the *first* place, it tends directly to encourage the manufactures and industry of a foreign  
alone can ever carry manufactures to their highest perfection, and which only bestows upon Britain that energy which has enabled her to excel so many other rival nations. Break that spirit, and we shall then find ourselves their inferiors in numberless respects.

State,

State, in place of that of our own people. The high duty on salt in Britain when compared with that of Ireland, induces many people in Britain to purchase nothing but Irish-made salt obtained by a clandestine trade at a price somewhat lower than British salt can be afforded for; by consequence, the manufacturers of salt in Ireland are encouraged by us instead of our own manufacturers. The same thing happens in every other case of a similar nature. Therefore such high duties prove a powerful bar to domestic industry.

In the *second* place, these high duties load our people with taxes in a twofold sense; *first*, by reason of the high price that is always charged by the manufacturer on account of these duties; a great part of which goes into the pockets of unfair traders, without tending to benefit the public revenue; though the buyer pays very little less for these commodities than if all the amount of the duties had been paid in to the Exchequer. — And, in the *next* place, the deficiency of the revenue thus occasioned must be made up by some other tax; which if evaded, in like manner must again be made up by another and another *in infinitum*; till at last, if such a pernicious

## INTRODUCTION. cliii

nicious system be adhered to, the people are obliged to pay immense sums in name of taxes, without producing almost any revenue at all to the fisc. In this state of society, manufactures must be abandoned, and industry annihilated. Poverty, indolence, and national debility, are the consequences.—Thus acted Spain, and thus she suffered.

In the *third* place, when smuggling is once introduced into a nation on a large scale, and digested into a regular system, those merchants who deal in it on an extensive scale, obtain such extraordinary profits as to induce people of very great capitals to engage in those branches of trade, and thus to raise up a power in the State, which must have such influence in the Senate, and with the executive Officers of the Crown, as to be able to counteract every deliberation that may be meant to check it, and to frustrate every regulation that well-meaning men may be induced to adopt. With that view, when such a system has once been adopted, the men who are most benefited by it, in order to screen themselves from suspicion, will naturally be loudest in advising severe *penal* statutes \*  
against

\* It appears somewhat extraordinary, that in this enlightened age, mankind should in so many instances seem to rely on



against smuggling, and apparently will be most anxious to discourage that illicit practice; as they well know that these penal statutes may be easily so managed as to crush raw adventurers in the business, so as to insure to themselves a sort of monopoly. More money has thus been gained within a few years past by men who bear a character for the fairest traders, on the five articles only of tobacco, tea, rum, brandy and wine, than could have been gained in a fair trade had the duties been so moderate as to prevent smuggling, in ten times the same space of time, and by the sale of twenty times the same amount of goods: And the nation all the while has

on the power of *penal* statutes for the purpose of enforcing regulations of Police, tho' the experience of every hour shews the futility of such a hope. But as *penal* statutes, tho' they do for the most part little or no service in respect of the purpose for which they were enacted, are always productive of emoluments to some individuals who gain by the sufferings of the delinquents, we are naturally induced to believe, that by the secret arts of those who thus are gainers, the nation at large is prevented from adverting to the pernicious tendency as well as the total futility of these severe statutes.

The Empress of Russia has expressed a maxim on this subject, which for energy and truth cannot be excelled. "It is not, says she, the *severity*, but the *certainly* of punishment that prevents crimes."——Were this maxim adverted to, severity of punishment would be perceived to

## INTRODUCTION clv

contentedly paid into the pockets of these individuals, a great many millions sterling which might otherwise have gone towards extinguishing the national debt. That debt in the mean time not only remains undiminished, but new taxes are wanted to keep it from increasing. Thus do we pay without obtaining relief, and we are in the train of being from year to year saddled with new burthens, which, tho' they do not augment the revenue of the State, most powerfully repress manufactures, impoverish the bulk of the people, and only enrich a few cunning traders with the spoils of the industrious part of the community.

be the most effectual means of increasing crimes; for when a punishment is too severe, all indifferent persons feel a natural propensity to espouse the cause of the delinquent, and to screen him from punishment, because in that case they view him rather as an unfortunate object of pity than as a guilty person. The hope of escaping with impunity, therefore, is much greater than if the punishment had been obviously proportioned to the offence: Such severe laws of course tend to multiply crimes rather than to prevent them. Were we indeed to devise a system for the express purpose of increasing crimes, perhaps it would be difficult to discover one more effectual than that which we have actually adopted,—that is, first to offer a strong temptation to transgress the law, then to make the punishment so great as to interest every person in protecting the delinquent, and thus to increase his hopes of escaping with impunity.

When

When a nation unfortunately suffers itself to be brought into this train, it has for a time the appearance of enjoying affluence and prosperity when it is fast sinking into poverty :— For, as wealth, from the various causes above enumerated, comes to be accumulated by several classes of individuals, they are enabled to live with splendour, while the body of the people are groaning under the pressure of multiplied difficulties †. And as these difficulties naturally drive individuals to seek for a more comfortable subsistence elsewhere, population begins to decline, and industry to slacken. All taxes are then less productive ; so that new exactions become

† We are here enabled to discover the source of those political disorders that have proved the ruin of every State since the foundation of the world to the present time : a great inequality in the condition of different orders of men in the same community. When civil institutions are perfect, the rights and privileges of every individual in the society are so well secured as that no one can be oppressed by another ; nor is any opportunity given for extraordinary gains being made by any class of citizens at the expence of the other members of the community. National wealth being thus generally diffused among the whole, every one enjoys a comfortable state of subsistence ; but no one has it in his power to live in that magnificent stile of splendour which catches the attention of casual visitors, and becomes the subject of wonder and admiration of future ages.

But

## INTRODUCTION. clvii

become necessary to preserve a miserable revenue that is inadequate to the exigencies of the State. Foreign aid must then be solicited as the only means of procuring national security. Poverty, indolence, and their natural consequences contempt and dishonour, follow after. It is also sufficiently obvious, that when national debility is thus produced, it is next to impossible ever to recover its former vigour, as a variety of discouraging circumstances must continually check any returning spirit as it begins to appear.

Since, therefore, such are the necessary consequences of external dominions to a trading nation, and since these are consequences that

But when political disorders begin to prevail, means are devised for individuals being enriched with the spoils of the community at large. Such individuals, therefore, become exalted in proportion as the general mass of the people are depressed. They are then enabled to live with a splendour that is altogether unknown in better times; and the wealth of the nation thus collected together into a few channels, appears to be infinitely greater than when it was equally diffused among the whole. It was thus the Luculli, the Apicii, the Neroni, the Domitiani, the Eleogabili of Antient Rome were enabled to gratify their taste for splendour, and indulge their brutal appetites. But that splendour was the sure harbinger of national destruction. Our aim, therefore, should be to guard against similar evils, by protecting the lower orders of the people as much as possible from every species of injustice and oppression.

can-



cannot be avoided by any system of laws that can be devised, let us no longer amuse ourselves with hopes which the experience of all nations have proved to be fallacious, but make haste to adopt such decisive and salutary measures as may yet rescue us from the evils which we already feel in part, but which must be yet more grievous in future if not soon obviated. Happily, our little spot, our domestic isle, is so fortunately situated as to furnish us with resources which few other nations can boast of; and which, if duly improved, would soon free us from those embarrassments we feel, and enable us to become a respectable people.

Should we voluntarily resign,—or, what is more to be expected, should we be fortunately expelled from all our external settlements, and thus be obliged to confine our attention solely to the proper management of our domestic concerns, we would at once be freed of a great and useless expenditure of national treasure that is constantly applied, even in time of peace, for the civil and military support of those possessions. This would furnish a small mite to be applied towards the extinguishing that debt which has already been accumulated on their account. Our dominions being thus circumscribed

scribed in bounds, and neither furnishing strong temptations to others, nor lying in the way of being attacked, we should not be under the necessity of having recourse to those frequent armaments which we are so often obliged to resort to, on every suspicious appearance or trifling dispute, that arises between wrong-headed persons at a distance from the seat of Government. This would be another saving of great importance.—But, what is of still greater moment, by the compactness of our dominions, and their natural strength, they would offer no temptations to foreign nations to attack us, and consequently would enable us to keep free of wars, with all their pernicious attendants; which would put a stop to those numerous jobs and contracts, and collusive dealings, which strike directly at the root of all good government, and tend to establish an universal system of corruption and despotism in its stead.

By these means would be given an effectual check to those dark cabals and party-machinations which so much derange our Councils at present, and our Rulers would be allowed deliberately to attend to domestic concerns. Monied men, too, finding no longer occasion to sport in that species of gambling which the necessities

ties of the State have given birth to\*, would try to turn their money to account, by applying it in promoting commerce, manufactures, agriculture, and other peaceful arts. And as temptations for going abroad would then be few, that restless spirit of emigration and desire for rambling from home would subside, and the minds of men become more sober and domesticated than formerly. With the increase of trade, which the improvement of our manufactures and fisheries would occasion, the people would become more industrious, more wealthy, and more numerous. By the great diminution of national expenditure which these would produce, those obnoxious taxes which tend to banish manufactures and cramp industrious exertions might be abolished, and all that system of heavy duties which gives rise to the pernicious practice of smuggling be entirely done away. Then would our manufactures and trade, in consequence of those irresistible efforts which a spirit of freedom naturally inspires, be carried to a degree of perfection of which we cannot perhaps at present form an idea. The

\* By political gambling I here mean not only all the transactions relative to the public funds, but every kind of job or unfair mercantile transaction whatever.

## NOT REDUCTION. 141

national revenue would of course be greatly augmented; even the' our taxes should be diminished. Bonds would also be established for carrying forward without difficulty every undertaking that might tend to render the national exertions more effectual, for as still more and more to add to the prosperity of the State.

In this manner, that national debt which at present gives justly such serious alarms to every thinking person, because of the certainty of its being in a very short time greatly augmented if the same system of national exertions shall be persisted in, might be viewed with a comparative indifference; as the nation, by gradually acquiring more vigour and greater resources, would soon bring it into a train of gradual diminution. With the establishment of our fisheries, and the enlargement of trade which would follow, we would at all times have at command, on a short warning, a body of seamen fit to man a navy that would make us respected by all nations; and thus, without exertions on our part, and almost without expence, the security of the nation would be insured, and a British Subject be respected and meet with due protection in every part of the globe.



## INTRODUCTION.

Those who have been accustomed to think that trade can only be secured by restrictive laws and stipulations of monopoly, will not relish these notions; tho' even tho' if they attend to facts as they daily occur, instruction be convinced from experience, that treaties of commerce are no longer of any utility than the parties concerned find it for their interest to adhere to them. If this be granted, would it not be more likely that foreign nations would be desirous of entering into commercial engagements with a State that was populous and wealthy, and by consequence that could take off a great many of the articles they themselves could spare, than with one that consisted of a small number of people only, who were in narrow circumstances, and who could therefore become purchasers of few goods when compared with the other? In a commercial view, therefore, it would be much our interest to augment the number of our people as much as possible. Every addition that is made to these people, and every circumstance that increases their wealth and industry, may be considered as a new coercive power, as an ever-faithfully raised up with a view powerfully to enforce every treaty of commerce.

And

Again

## INTRODUCTION. cxi

Again, is it not more likely that foreign nations would wish to purchase our manufactures, which they can be afforded of a good quality at a low price, rather than when they are worse or dearer? This admits of no dispute. But if the national expence be diminished, and with that diminution if the numbers of our people at home be augmented, their exertions will be increased in a yet higher degree, and the profits of individuals become much greater than it otherwise could have been, tho' the price of manufactures is lowered. Thus do we acquire another more powerful incentive to the fulfilment of commercial engagements than all the political ingenuity of the Cabinet or the power of arms could ever enforce. Our trade, therefore, upon these principles, would be established on the firmest basis, which neither force nor political machinations could disturb. We might then behold with indifference the exertions of every other nation which might be weak enough to believe that their prosperity would be augmented, or their trade increased, by pursuing that delusive system of politics to which we have but too long so obstinately adhered.

Those who have been accustomed to think that trade can only be secured by restrictive laws and stipulations of monopoly, will not relish these notions; tho' even tho' if they attend to facts as they daily occur, and if they be convinced from experience, that treaties of commerce are no longer of any utility than the parties concerned find it for their interest to adhere to them. If this be granted, would it not be more likely that foreign nations would be desirous of entering into commercial engagements with a State that was populous and wealthy, and by consequence that could take off a great many of the articles they themselves could spare, than with one that consisted of a small number of people only, who were in narrow circumstances, and who could therefore become purchasers of few goods when compared with the other? In a commercial view, therefore, it would be much our interest to augment the number of our people as much as possible. Every addition that is made to these people, and every circumstance that increases their wealth and industry, may be considered as a new commercial power, as an ever faithful ally raised up with a view powerfully to enforce every treaty of commerce.

## INTRODUCTION. dxi

Again, ~~is it~~ is it not more likely that foreign nations would wish to purchase our manufactures, which they can be afforded of a good quality at a low price, rather than when they are worse or dearer? This admits of no dispute. But if the national expence be diminished, and with that diminution if the numbers of our people at home be augmented, their exertions will be increased in a yet higher degree, and the profits of individuals become much greater than it otherwise could have been, tho' the price of manufactures is lowered. Thus do we acquire another more powerful incentive to the fulfilment of commercial engagements than all the political ingenuity of the Cabinet or the power of arms could ever enforce. Our trade, therefore, upon these principles, would be established on the firmest basis, which neither force nor political machinations could disturb. We might then behold with indifference the exertions of every other nation which might be weak enough to believe that their prosperity would be augmented, or their trade increased, by pursuing that delusive system of politics to which we have but too long so obstinately adhered.



I have not the vanity to imagine that these observations will produce the smallest change on the present system of management in Britain, or that a Minister, were he as much convinced of the justness of the conclusions as I am, would have it in his power to adopt that mode of conduct which would in that case appear to be proper. In the great arrangement of State affairs, there is such a complication of interests, and mixed views, when a system has been long adhered to, and the views of men have become so steadily directed towards certain objects, that they cannot be suddenly withdrawn from them; so that an inconsiderate attempt at innovation must be productive of very serious and often destructive consequences to the State. But as some great revolution in that respect may be expected to arise from events that cannot be staved off, and as it is of importance that we should be prepared to make the best of every event, I judged it to be my duty, on the present occasion, to point out as fully as I was able, the natural tendency of the measures I have ventured to recommend. Should but a few men whose minds are not entirely taken up with the machinations of party, bestow a serious attention on this subject, I presume, that however much they may  
differ

## INTRODUCTION. clxv

differ from me in their notion of the *extent* of that improvement, they will at least be forced to admit, that the forwarding the fisheries and other domestic improvements that tend to give employment to the lower classes of the people, must at least be attended with *some* national benefits: And if that be granted, humanity, independent of every other consideration, ought certainly to induce them to make every proper and practicable exertion to relieve such a numerous body of the people from those distressful circumstances in which they are at present unfortunately involved.

TO

INTRODUCTION.

But from me in their notion of the extent of  
that improvement, they will at least be forced  
to admit, that the forwarding the fisheries and  
other domestic improvements that tend to give  
employment to the lower classes of the people,  
must at least be attended with some national be-  
nefits: And if that be granted, humanity, in-  
dependent of every other consideration, ought  
certainly to induce them to make every proper  
and practicable exertion to relieve such a nu-  
merous body of the people from those distressful  
circumstances in which they are at present un-  
fortunately involved.

TO

**The Lords Commissioners of the Treasury.**

**REPORT** of Facts relating to the Fisheries, collected in a Tour among the Islands, and along the Western Coast of Scotland, undertaken at their Lordships' desire, by JAMES ANDERSON, Esq; and J. G. Stevenson, Esq; founded on the best Facts, tending to point out the most probable Means of improving the Fisheries, and the consequent Improvement of those Countries.

**THE** Baron has been, in the first place, to observe, That the first official intimation he received of your Lordships pleasure concerning this enquiry, was conveyed to him by a letter from the Secretary to the Honourable Board of Customs in Scotland, dated the



23d of June last, which he received in Aberdeenshire on the 26th of the same month, intimating, that the Board had been required to appoint one of the Revenue cutters under their command, to attend him on that tour; and requesting him to meet the Commissioners as soon as convenient, that they might concert measures for carrying that order into effect.

That, immediately on the receipt of this letter, he made haste to dispatch his private business, — being sensible the season was already too far advanced to admit of performing all that would be necessary.

That he set out from Aberdeen on the 30th of June, and reached Edinburgh on the 1st of July; when he immediately gave notice to the Board of Customs of his arrival, and intimated his readiness to attend them at the time they should please to appoint.

That on the 6th, he waited on the Board by appointment; when the Commissioners showed the greatest alacrity in forward-

forwarding his views, and immediately wrote to Captain Hamilton of the Prince William-Henry cutter, to repair to Greenwich with all possible dispatch, there to take him on board, and attend him on his cruise. But, by a train of cross accidents, with the detail of which it is unnecessary here to trouble the Reader, in spite of every effort of his to go forward, he found it the 22d of August, before the cutter was ready to take him on board.

Thus it appears, that by a series of unlucky accidents, he lost near two months of the very best season of the year, which prevented him from accomplishing the one-half of the necessary circuit: And being obliged to enter on those seas during the stormy season of autumn, while the long nights rendered his progress slow and unprofitable, he had not an opportunity of collecting as many facts as he wished to obtain, nor of making many observations that would otherwise have occurred.—On these accounts, his Report must be much more imperfect than it otherwise would have been; though he trusts

trusts it will still be sufficiently interesting to merit the attention of your Lordships, and to excite a desire of obtaining farther information concerning these important objects.

He now begs leave to inform your Lordships, that among the Hebrides (to which, and the adjacent coasts of Scotland, the present Report is confined) he found many large and fair islands, containing extensive fields of land naturally endowed with an uncommon degree of fertility; and many tracts of much larger extent, consisting of soil that, by a skilful culture, might be converted into corn-fields, which would furnish subsistence to a great number of people\*. — That the climate in these islands is more favourable for bringing corn to maturity, and that the harvest is there for the most part earlier than on the parallel coasts of Scotland†; and that lime-stone and marle, and shelly sand, which are the manures best calculated for improving these

\* See Illustrations at the end of the Report, art. A.

† See B, Illustrations.

these soils abound so much, that one or other of these manures could be got in every place, at a very moderate expense; were there any sufficient stimulus to excite the industry of the people in this respect.

THAT these islands contain many other products of great value.—Such as, very fine slate at Basdale and the neighbouring islands.—Lead-ore of the richest quality in Illeg, which never yet has been thoroughly worked, but which probably will be opened next summer.—Copper, sulphur, smelted in the same island; and iron-ore, of a remarkably fine quality, there and in other places.—Fine marble in Tiree, which has been but of late discovered, and which by all judges, even Italians themselves, is

The best of it, he was told, yielded 1700 weight of refined lead per ton, and 42 ounces of silver.

Count *Adeloni*, who was lately in Edinburgh, and Mr. *Faujas de St. Fond*, who has made the tour of Europe, and is an attentive observer, were of this number.



reckoned superior to the richest Italian marble yet known—Statuary marble in Skye, which, when polished, possesses the warm softness that is so much admired in the ancient statuary marble, and which has been searched for in vain by the Moderns for several ages—Pure crystalline sand, fit for making the finest kinds of glass;—and many other valuable products (which it would be tiresome to enumerate) that are already known†, tho' there are doubtless many others that have not yet been thought of, which curious observers would discover when these countries shall come to be more particularly attended to‡.

Such a valuable article as coal, must not here be allowed to escape notice. And it was not without a very sensible pleasure, that the Reporter found such strong indications of it in many places.

Coal

† See C, Illustrations.

‡ Within a few months past, a very rich and extensive vein of *manganese* was discovered in Ross-shire, where it never was formerly suspected to be.

Coal has with certainty been found in the Island of Bute: specimens of it, tho' in very small veins, are said to have been found in Islay. It has been actually worked and burnt by the neighbouring people, in several places in the Island of Mull: it has been found at Loch Alin and Loch-Sunart, in the districts called Morven and Ardnamurchan: several veins of it have been found in Cannary, and one in particular of the *canal* kind: some specimens of it have also been discovered in Skye.—In all these, and perhaps in other places that the Reporter did not hear of, coal has been found, though the present state of these countries does not admit of coal being worked there with profit; on which account, this treasure, like many others in these islands, has not been of any use to the Public, nor benefit to Individuals †.

4.

AMONG the animal productions, these islands possess two articles singularly precious, which have scarcely as yet been considered

† See D, Illustrations.

considered as of any value by the inhabitants; *Eider-down*, and *wool* of a kind extremely valuable, being the only fine in quality, but possessing a peculiar silky softness and elasticity that is not to be equalled by any other wool yet known in Europe. It has been found in the district called *Mor-Loch-Suairt*, in the district of *Argyleshire*. The extended coast of these islands is produced a great quantity of sea-weed, from which is made annually many thousand tons of *wool*. This is a manufacture which was introduced there only about thirty years ago, in the management of which the people are daily improving, and the quantity produced is thus augmenting from year to year. Several sea-plants, they now find, yield help of a very fine quality, that were thought

• Of the finest of this wool, some Ladies here have made shawls, nearly, if not entirely equal in fineness, and in softness, to those of India. Should the coarser parts of these fine fleeces be employed in the manufacture of flannels, it would give them such a superiority over others in respect of warmth and softness, as would insure a ready sale in every part of the world where that useful stuff is known.

(thought, a few years ago, to be incapable of furnishing any alkali at all, and which are therefore suffered to lie neglected on many shores to this day; so that there is still great room for improvement in this respect \*.

In these islands, and along the west coast of Scotland, there are many of the finest natural harbours that are to be seen in the world; but these, from the want of proper surveys, are not yet thoroughly known, and for want of distinguishing land-marks, can scarcely be discovered by a stranger: And as no buoys are placed on sunk rocks to point out their position exactly, many of these harbours cannot be entered with safety by such as are not perfectly well acquainted with them.—For these reasons, together with the want of one or two light-houses, the navigation of those seas is difficult and hazardous to strangers, tho' it might be easily rendered the safest navigation of any narrow seas in the known world: For,  
there,

\* See E, Illustrations.



there, (except on the west coast of Cantire,) no wind can blow that would not admit of entering a safe harbour to leeward.

The seas surrounding those islands, abound with an immense variety of fish. Of the testaceous kind, are found, in very great quantities, crabs and lobsters of the largest size, and finest quality—Great quantities of oysters of different kinds, some of them of a size uncommonly large, and others small, and full like those of Colchester—There are also great plenty of mussels, cockles, clams, razor or spout-fish, limpets, winks, shrimps, and several other sorts—As to finny fish, there are found at certain seasons, great shoals of mackerel, tho' these are only temporary and uncertain visitors. But they never fail to find in their seas, great abundance of haddocks, whittings, whiting-pollock, scath, blind-bive eels, skate, holobat, turbot, soal, and flounders of all sorts, in the greatest abundance and perfection; John-dore, mullet, and

many

• See E, Illustrations,

many other fish of less note, that the inhabitants often catch for their own subsistence.—All these kinds of fish are now scarcely looked after, because no market is at hand, to which they could be carried with profit. The only kinds they attempt to catch for foreign markets, are cod, ling, tusk, and *berrings*. Of herrings, which are a migratory fish, but whose natural history is as yet so imperfectly known as not to enable us to trace their progress, (the common received opinion on that head, of their regular progression from the north sea, being evidently erroneous\*), the quantities that might be caught on those coasts between the months of June and January, were the inhabitants in a situation that permitted them to follow that business, are so great as would appear altogether incredible to such as never have been on those coasts.—As a specimen, the Reporter begs leave to mention, that during the course of seven or eight weeks this very year (1784), as many herrings

M

were

\* See Appendix, No. 3.

were caught in a small loch called *Loch-Urn*, as, if brought to market, would sell for L. 56,000 Sterl. This computation was made by Mr M'Donell of Barnisdale, justiciary-bailie in that district, a sensible observing man, who, in virtue of his office, has the best opportunity of knowing the quantity of fish there caught; And he observed, that had the natives the command of salt and cask, double that quantity might easily have been caught, as the people were obliged to remain idle a great part of their time, for want of these necessary articles.— Such a fishing as this is no uncommon thing on those coasts, there being few years in which one or more of the lochs are not equally well stored with herrings: but, from the mode in which the fishing has been hitherto carried on, it seldom happens that great benefits result from it to the natives\*.

During the months that the herrings disappear on the coast, that is from January to June, is the proper season for the

\* See G, Illustrations.

the cod and ling fishery. For, though cod, and many other kinds of fish, are always to be found in abundance on the out-skirts of the herring shoals, when they are on the coast, yet it is only during the months above named that they are in the highest perfection \*, or are found in plenty on their own proper banks, with such a degree of certainty as to induce fishermen to resort thither for catching them. During these months, then, cod and ling (and a few tusk fish, though rare in these seas) are found in great abundance on the numerous banks that

\* The cod of Newfoundland being always caught when they are not in season, are therefore very much inferior in quality to those caught on our own coasts. From this cause chiefly, we may account for the difference of price between Newfoundland and British cured cod; which, I am informed, is usually about 30 per cent. If our people were once come into the practice of catching cod in the rapid currents, for foreign sale, the quality of these fish would make them afford a still better price. Among the Orkney isles, where the fishing has not been attended to, chiefly because of the rapidity of the tides, when this peculiarity comes to be adverted to, it will be found to give them particular advantages over others.



that are interspersed among these islands, and lie around them, in the catching of which kinds of fish, the natives are in general at present very unexperienced, because the circumstances in which they are placed do not admit of their being benefited by their labour; though, from every trial they have made, it appears evident, that, were it not for *moral* causes that interrupt their labours, they would find that business far more lucrative than any other that a labouring man can follow in any part of Great Britain. The Irish, who sometimes fish on these coasts with their wherries, and the fishermen from the east coast of Scotland, who often come there, by the great success they invariably have, abundantly confirm the truth of this observation.

8.

BESIDES the kinds of fish above specified, there are in those seas several other kinds, that are caught chiefly for the oil they afford. Whales, in great plenty, are seen in pursuit of the herrings when they are on the coast; but these are then so

M

restless

restless and active, that few of them have hitherto been killed. Vast numbers of porpoises are seen in flocks, also pursuing the herrings; but no economical mode of catching them hath as yet been devised\*.—It is only of late that they have found out a way of killing the *hasking shark*, a large but harmless fish, which frequents those seas during the warm summer months, from the liver of which they extract an oil, which amply repays them for the trouble of catching it, so that the natives of those coasts are now become very alert in the pursuit of, and dextrous in killing them. Great numbers of seals are found about the rocks on the small uninhabited islands in those seas, some of which are annually killed, but many more escape; for, no mode of entangling them with nets of any kind has yet been found to succeed, though some

\* A man in Aberdeen has invented a new kind of net, which, he thinks, might be successfully employed in this fishery.

† The oil from the liver of one fish, will sometimes sell from 20 to 30l. Sterling.

some trials of it have been made. Before the rivers of dog fish, the people there buy trawls and nets, and as shoals of these fish swarm amazingly thick on the west coast of Lewis, during the months of June, July, and August, a very lucrative fishing in this article might there be carried on, were the people in circumstances that permitted it.

These islands contain a numerous race of hardy and robust people, whose labour, if properly directed, might prove of great utility to the State. From the information the Reporter received, on the truth of which he has reason entirely to rely, there cannot be at present, in the islands

The shoals of this fish are sometimes so numerous that their back fins are seen like a thick bush of sedges above water, as far as the eye can reach. A boat-load, in such a shoal, may be caught with a few hand-lines in an hour or two: but the small open boats on the coast, may be often put back before they dare venture so far to the sea; so that their fishing is at present quite precarious: yet, even now, a few boats on the West of Lewis, usually make above 1000 barrels of oil *per annum*, (32,000 gallons), besides what serves the inhabitants themselves.

of the Hebrides alone, less than eighty thousand souls: and these, notwithstanding the drains from thence for recruits to the navy and army, as well as by emigration, are increasing in a rapid progression \*. On the shores of the main land opposite to these islands, there may be about three times that number who are in situation and circumstances nearly similar to those in the islands. All this numerous people, which (if the Orkney and Shetland islands were included, and the other parts of Scotland where the inhabitants are in similar circumstances) cannot be fewer than five hundred thousand souls, being totally unacquainted with the benefits that result from that compacted state of civil society, in which individuals can with ease mutually give and receive reciprocal aid, live at present in detached solitary hamlets, in want of most

\* He could not help taking notice of one reason that was assigned for the late very rapid increase of the people, viz. the practice of inoculation for the small-pox, which has within a few years become very general among all ranks of persons in the islands.



most of those enjoyments which men who have lived in society would think absolutely necessary to existence. In their situation, every man is not only obliged to dig and reap with his own hand, the little field that is to furnish bread to himself and family, but in many cases also to carry home its produce on his own shoulders to the barn, and to carry out the manures to his field in the same manner: he must also officiate as mason, smith, carpenter, cooper, and miller to himself: he must act as tanner, shoemaker, clothier, fuller, and taylor. In short, almost every necessary he wants, must be made by himself, with tools of his own forming; for he neither can find these articles to purchase near himself, nor can he sell any superfluous produce he might be able to spare, to yield him money to procure them. Thus are these people continually employed in an uninterrupted and fruitless industry, which is neither capable of freeing themselves for want, nor of benefiting the State.

State\*. Those capital branches of employment, which, in other circumstances, might, if persevered in, furnish the means of a comfortable subsistence, must be so frequently interrupted by those other unprofitable, though unavoidable avocations, that it turns out to be of very little benefit to them. And men who observe very little more of the mode of life of those persons, save that they frequently desert those employments that such observers think would turn out profitable to them, rashly conclude, that this

\* Such persons only as have attended to the division of labour in manufactures, can have an adequate idea of the difficulties that these people labour under, and the loss to which they are *thus* subjected. (See Smith's Wealth of Nations). By an accurate calculation, now in the Reporter's possession, of the different operations in pin-making, it appears, that, by being divided among eighteen different classes of operators, these eighteen persons are thus enabled to make, on an average, 18,000 pins in a day, or at the rate of one thousand a-day for each person. It is doubted, if any man who was to perform all the parts with his own hand, could make five pins in a day; and even that small number would be much more clumsy and imperfect, than the thousand he might otherwise have made in the same time.

proceeds from an unsteady disposition, a disinclination to labour, and an insupportable indolence of temperament. Contumely is thus added to oppression, and the poor people are cruelly insulted and abused, instead of being tenderly sympathised with, and kindly supported and cherished: yet, though suffering, they complain not, but submit to their hard fate with a patient resignation, which strongly indicates that their hearts are uncorrupted, and that they may be easily led to undertake any useful employment that might be put within their reach.

From these causes, were none other to co-operate with them, the fishery never could be carried on by men so circumstanced, with advantage; and being unable to purchase boats and other apparatus for the fishery, they are obliged to rely upon the *scal*, as the surest means of finding subsistence. Little *possessions* (for *farms* they cannot be called) are sought after by them, with an avidity that is scarcely conceivable; and they cling to these with a degree of eagerness, which the

the wretchedness of their enjoyments would not seem to authorise. The tenure by which these poor people hold these, is short and precarious, usually from year to year only, but sometimes it is extended to *seven* years, which is the longest term of a lease they ever obtain. Being thus continually in danger of being turned out by their superior, who for the most part is himself only a greater tenant\*, they are obliged to submit to almost any conditions he pleases to impose upon them, which tends to render their lot still more uncomfortable than otherwise it would have been.

This extreme dependence of the people of all these coasts upon the land, has suggested the idea to the possessors of it, in *some* places near the sea-shore, of making the poor people pursue the fishing for the profit of the superiors only †. With this

\* See H. Illustrations.

† The species of refinement mentioned in the text, must only be understood to apply to those parts of the coast where fisheries for foreign export have been established, and



this view, these superiors furnish to their immediate dependents, boats, and the necessary apparatus for fishing, for which they charge whatever rates they think proper to impose: they also lay in oatmeal, and other necessaries, which they give out to their dependents in small portions as it is wanted, at what prices they please to exact. To obtain payment for these articles, they take the people bound to go out a-fishing as often as possible, and (in some cases even upon oath) not to sell to any other person any part of the fish they shall catch, but to bring them all to their superior, who agrees to take the whole at certain stipulated prices, of his own making also. By such means, some of these superiors have contrived to squeeze the poor people to the utmost degree they can possibly bear, and usually arrange matters so as that none of these are yet set on foot to the south of the island of Barra, this species of oppression is only practised in the northern islands, and on the north-west coast of Scotland. I never have heard that it was known in any part of Argyleshire, or on the east coast. The people of Barra are also free from any exaction of this kind.

to get them into their debt, so that they could lay hold of their little all, should they happen to disoblige them. The poor people are then unable to find the means of emigrating to other countries, and dare not propose even to alter their situation at home, lest they might thus provoke their master to strip them of their all. They thus live in a state of hopeless indigence, and abject dependence, than which nothing worse can be well conceived.—Compared with these fishermen, the people within land think themselves happy, which makes them shun the shores, and as much as possible avoid entering into the fishing, tho' necessity frequently brings them to the rocks to fish with a rod for their own subsistence, and to gather shell-fish among the stones, which, on many occasions, has saved the lives of thousands.

The above picture is delineated by the Reporter with as much fidelity as was in his power; nor is he sensible that in any particular he has exaggerated in the smallest degree.—neither was he under any

any temptation to do so, as he is totally unconfined with these countries, and in a great measure unacquainted with the persons who are principally concerned in these transactions. It is but justice, however, to observe, that tho' things are *in general*, among those northern islands, conducted in the manner as is here represented, yet they are not *universally* so; and where the above-mentioned management does prevail, the servants are not in all cases treated with an equal degree of rigour; and that, by consequence, the people live more at their ease in some districts than in others, according as their superior chance to be of a disposition more or less humane. The same thing must be experienced in all cases of slavery. It would appear invidious to enter farther into particulars on this head, which the Reporter therefore willingly declines. It was his duty to state the general fact as it is, with all possible distinctness.

15. See the evidence given into the Committee of Peidm at the end of this Report, at the beginning.

IN consequence of this general system of dispersion that prevails in all those regions, the proprietors find their lands overstocked with people, who are mere cumberers of the soil, eat up its produce, and prevent its improvement, without being able to afford a rent nearly adequate to that which should be afforded for the same produce, were their fields under proper management. Countries that are naturally calculated for grazings, as is the case with a great proportion of the Highlands of Scotland, can be managed at little expence by a few people. Graziers from the south having of late found their way into these countries, and observing that the grounds are peculiarly well adapted to the rearing of sheep, find themselves able to afford a rent for these lands, to be converted into sheep-farms, much higher than the present possessors, who now live upon the ground, can afford to give for it. No wonder, therefore, that the proprietors should,

• See I, Illustrations.



should, in some cases, find themselves disposed to accept these offers, or to demand a rent from the present tenants, equal, or nearly equal to that which another offers to give; especially when he knows, that if he accepts the stranger's offer, he will be sure of obtaining a well-paid rent, instead of one that is much more precarious. Wherever this change, however, happens to take place, it necessarily occasions a very great distress and disquietude to the people, as those who are thus dispossessed, can find no place to receive them at home, and are compelled to seek for refuge in America, or elsewhere. And tho' it must be owned, that the gentlemen in general show a great disposition to allow the present possessors to remain undisturbed, and have therefore, in many cases, rejected very advantageous offers, rather than drive them away; yet, as it is not to be supposed that men can continue long to pursue a conduct so directly opposite to their interest, this is only at best a temporary palliative, and the evil  
now

now avoided, must soon approach with irresistible force. — It behoves Government, therefore, to guard in time against the loss that the nation must inevitably sustain by such extensive emigrations as this will necessarily occasion, unless some place of refuge shall be provided for them in this country.

The proprietors of low islands, and other districts naturally fertile, and well adapted for cultivation, do not find themselves in a much better situation than the proprietors of mountains\*. Their land must necessarily be parcelled out among a great number of small tenants, who consume the greatest part of its produce themselves, and who can therefore afford to give but little rent. If these men at any time have an abundant crop, every one around them has also enough; and no purchasers being among them, they find no other resource, than to distil the overplus into

\* Lismore, from the peculiarity of its situation, is an exception to this general rule, as something like farms and agriculture takes place in that island.

whisky, which they are tempted to consume with a hurtful prodigality. If, on the other hand, the crop is scanty, they have no means of procuring a supply, and must be reduced to the same state of want and abjectness as the other inhabitants.

Should it be said, that the price of grain is usually very high in the West Highlands, and that these people might easily sell their spare produce with advantage to their neighbours—the answer is obvious. Each of these small tenants can at best have but very little to spare; and that little being threshed out at different times as the straw is wanted for provender, he never finds himself possessed, at once, of a quantity sufficient to load a boat to carry it elsewhere; and there being no commerce to bring boats thither for other purposes, they have no other way of disposing of it, but by finding a boat for themselves, and conveying their grain in that boat to the places where it may be wanted; and as there is no market on these coasts to which it can be carried,

where

where this boat-load could be sold at once, the owner, could he even furnish such a boat-load, would find himself obliged to set out, thro' tempestuous seas, in an open boat, with a cargo extremely liable to receive damage, to find purchasers, *in retail*, among a poor people, along a thinly inhabited coast. There he would be reduced to the necessity of subsisting his boat's crew, and himself, perhaps for many weeks, and of unloading his grain each night, where houses for shelter could scarcely be found, and reloading it in the morning: and thus proceed forward day by day, till his small cargo should be by little and little sold. In this way, it is plain, that no price, however extravagantly high, could be sufficient to indemnify him for his expence and trouble. He must, therefore, be contented to dispose of his grain at home, in the best way he can. From these causes, the fields are suffered to remain in their natural state, without improvement: the people are kept for ever poor; and the proprietor



proprietor can draw but very little rent, in proportion to the produce of his ground.

Should a man who grounded his notions of improvement of land on the practice he had observed in countries properly cultivated, endeavour to form a judgment of the means of meliorating these low and improveable islands, he would immediately perceive, that the number of the people on these fields, and their general poverty prevented them from reaping any-thing like the crops from their ground that it was naturally fitted to produce, tho' these crops were obtained at a much greater expence than was necessary. No distant manures, he would observe, could be brought,—no expensive manures purchased; no grounds could be cleared from natural impediments to cultivation, no drains could be opened, no inclosures made, no winter crops could be reared, no separate property preserved. He would see, that, before these things can be done, the small tenants must be removed, and a strong and effective cultivation be introduced.

introduced in the place of that languid culture now practised. Were money to be had in plenty, all that might no doubt be done: But when his corns are reared, where is the market that is to return his money, and enable him to proceed with his improvements? His own immediate neighbours want, by the supposition, no grain from him; nor could afford to pay him for it, if they did. No merchant appears: he must himself carry his grain to market: A vessel must be provided as soon as his grain is threshed out, and a cargo got ready: this vessel he must go in quest of, to such ports as it can be found at. Before he loads his grain, he must have an order from the customhouse for shipping, and give bond that it shall not be carried out of the country: This he may perhaps obtain at the rate of five or six pounds, if he chances to be at a distance from the customhouse. He must then set out himself on a cruise as supercargo, along the coasts; and after a voyage of three or four months, may be able to return, after having sold his grain in  
single

single pecks or bushels at a time; to such as could afford to pay for it. But how he could, in this case, contrive to obtain a certificate from a customhouse, to enable him to recover his bond, the Reporter is at a loss to know; yet, without such customhouse clearance, and bond granted, ship and cargo are liable to be seized; and consequently no shipmaster would proceed without this. In whatever way this matter shall be adjusted, a similar process must be undergone at transporting each small cargo of grain. It is only necessary to state these facts to show, that such a proceeding is altogether impracticable; and that, of course, these lands, however *naturally* they may be adapted for cultivation, are *morally* incapable of improvement, so long as the country shall remain in its present circumstances. The Reporter

\* From this example it must appear evident, that nothing can prove so deceitful, as for the proprietors of land in those regions, to form a judgment of the value of their land from the produce it could be made to yield, when compared with other land in a different situation: Nor could any thing be productive of so much distress, as that of a

tenant

Reporter judged it necessary here to state these particulars, to remove an objection that might arise in the minds of some persons in reflecting on this subject: for, it is extremely natural at first glance to think, that if grain usually sells at a high price not far from any particular place, that circumstance alone should prove sufficient to give rise to a spirited agriculture there.

But, though the circumstances above enumerated, tend powerfully to depress the natives of the districts in question,

tenant going from a cultivated country into those regions, with a view to carry on a spirited agriculture. It behoves the proprietors of land, therefore, to bend their chief endeavours, first to alter the general state of the country, before they think of pushing improvements in agriculture with a view to benefit themselves. When the common people can earn their bread independent of agriculture, so as to be able to purchase grain from the farmer in quantities, and to pay for it as they get it, a farmer may there live and carry on his operations *as such*; but till that event shall take place, there never can be any thing like agriculture, in the proper sense of the word, carried on there by farmers, on an extensive scale.

• See K, Illustrations.



and to prevent them from engaging in the fisheries; yet, had there not been other bars in the way, their natural advantages are such as must in time have got the better of these checks, and have produced a change in the œconomy of the country, that would have proved favourable to industry and commerce. This change, so devoutly to be wished, has been, along with other things, most effectually prevented from taking place, in consequence of a system of Salt-laws, which the Legislature, ill informed with regard to those distant and hitherto neglected parts of the empire, have thought proper to enact. These laws, as they at present stand in the Statute-book, tie up in the most effectual manner, the hands of the poor natives of these coasts, and absolutely debar them from entertaining the most distant hope of ever engaging in those fisheries *on their own account*, while they continue in force. This gives an additional power over them to those superiors already mentioned, whose power was formerly but too great, which serves

serves to rivet the chains of those poor people still faster than they were before.

That your Lordships may be enabled to perceive in what manner these effects are the unavoidable consequences of the Law, it is only necessary here briefly to state what the Law is on this head.

The Legislature, with a view to encourage the fishery, graciously intended to exempt all foreign great-salt (as well as home-made salt) that should be employed in curing fish, from the whole excise-duty, which amounts to *Ten* shillings *per* bushel. But as it was not intended that salt, for any other purpose, should be used in this country without paying duty, it became a case of some intricacy to devise plans for preventing frauds in that respect. With a view to attain this end, all importers of foreign salt were required first to land it at a custom-house, where it was to be carefully weighed by the proper officers, and the importer either to pay the duty, or to enter it for the purpose of curing fish; and in that case, to give bond, with  
two

two sufficient surties, either to pay the excise-duty of ten shillings per bushel, or to account for the salt, under a penalty of twenty shillings for each bushel. In consequence of this bond, he must either produce the salt itself at that custom-house on or before the 5th of April thereafter, or cured fish in such quantities as are sufficient to exhaust the whole of that salt, which fish he is obliged to declare upon oath, were cured with the salt for which he had granted bond. It is only after all these forms, and several others, are duly complied with, that the bond can be got up; and these bonds, if not cancelled before they fall due, must be regularly returned to the Commissioners of Salt duties, by whom an action must be instantly commenced in the Court of Exchequer, for recovery of the penalties incurred in the bonds. If any of this salt remains unused, a new bond, on the same terms, must be granted for it, however small the quantity may be: nor can that salt be moved from the place where it is once lodged, without

without an express warrant from the customhouse, and another bond granted by the proprietor, specifying, under heavy penalties, where it is to be landed; which bond can only be withdrawn in consequence of a certificate from the customhouse, specifying that it was there lodged: Nor can it be shifted from one vessel to another, did both vessels even belong to the same person, without an order from the customhouse, and a new bond granted; nor can a single bushel of that salt, in any circumstances, be sold without a new bond being granted for it, and a transfer of that quantity being made in the customhouse books. All these things are required, with a multiplicity of other regulations, for which I must refer to the notes\*, and these regulations are so very intricate, as to require a clear head, and continued application, to be able to understand and to remember them, which can only be expected to be found among men of business, far above the rank of mean and illiterate fishermen:

\* See L, Illustrations.



men: And the penalties are so high as infallibly to ruin any of those, who, thro' forgetfulness, casual accidents, or ignorance, omit in any case to comply with the letter of the Law with the most scrupulous punctuality.

Without entering into a longer detail on this head, it must, from these specimens, appear sufficiently obvious to your Lordships, that if a man living in these western islands, at the distance of thirty or forty leagues from a customhouse, (and several of them are fully so far) shall think of ordering a ship-load of salt to be employed in the fishing, he must find these regulations subject him to unsurmountable difficulties. In that case, he would be obliged to order his vessel to go to the customhouse, instead of coming directly to his own home, and there to unload the whole, and immediately to reload it, that it may be carried to his place of abode: but it is still an additional hardship, that he himself must leave his own business at home, undertake a long, expensive, and hazardous voyage to the custom-

customhouse in person, where he may be detained many weeks waiting the arrival of his vessel. Nor will it be easy for him, when there, at a distance from his own friends and acquaintances, to find sureties willing to enter into a bond with him, incurring such high penalties; especially when these sureties must be conscious, that if, through any neglect or cross accident, the bond should not be duly retired, they themselves, as being more within the reach of the Law, will be first prosecuted, leaving them to have recourse upon the principals.

But if these difficulties should be got over, others await him, that are, if possible, still more burthensome. If he catches fish, and cures them with this salt, he can neither sell a single barrel of them, nor use them in his own family, were he in ever so great want, till they have been carried to the customhouse, and regularly entered there: And if these herrings be once landed in any one place, he cannot reship them to be carried elsewhere, without first sending

to

to the customhouse, and obtaining an order for that purpose. If any part of his salt remains unemployed, that also must be returned to the customhouse, and a new bond there granted for it, as has been already specified.

It would be tiresome to go through all the particulars; but from this slight state of the matter, and the corroborative proofs mentioned in the notes, your Lordships will perceive at one glance, that it is altogether impossible for any man in the islands, at a distance from a customhouse, to engage in the fisheries with bonded salt. Were he even a man of considerable property, this could scarce in any case be done; but poor men, who can only carry on business upon a small scale, are absolutely debarred from ever having it in their power to obtain *one* bushel of such salt, with which salt

\* A man in Skye, who had got a load of bonded salt, used the whole in curing fish, save *five* bushels only; but before he could recover his bond, he found himself obliged to hire a boat and send these five bushels to Oban, which cost him upwards of *five* pounds expences.

only herrings can be properly cured for a foreign market\*.

Thus are the native inhabitants of the isles in a great measure excluded from having any share in this fishery, tho' it is by them alone it ever can be carried on at so cheap a rate as to afford profit to the undertakers without public support, or engage such a number of people

\* When the above was written, I was not aware of all the hardships to which these laws would subject the poor fisherman. One would imagine, that if a man paid the duty for his salt, he might afterwards do with it what he pleased; but this, I find, is not the case. Last season (1784) a vessel was fitted out in haste at Aberdeen, to catch herrings that were then on the coasts: But as the owners of that vessel had no duty-free salt, they were obliged to purchase salt that had already paid the duty; but before they were allowed to carry one ounce of this salt to sea, they were further obliged to give bond for it, in the same form as if it had been duty-free salt.

Again—In the year 1783, Mr James Macdonald in Portree in Skye, purchased from Leith, a quantity of salt which had paid duty, and shipped it by permit on board the for Portree. It was there regularly landed, and a customhouse certificate returned for the same.—With this salt he intended to cure fish, when he could catch them in



people in the business, as ever to make it turn out an object of great national moment. Instead of this, the fishing has been thrown into an improper channel, which is attended with great expence to the undertakers, and an unprofitable waste of national revenue, from which little benefit results either to individuals or the public.—In consequence of these regulations concerning salt, those men only who live in the neighbourhood of a customhouse, tho' far distant from the fishing-ground, have been induced to undertake the business. These men are obliged, at a great expence, annually to fit out vessels called *busses*, for no other

in those seas; but not having found an opportunity of using it in the year 1784, he fitted out, at his own expence, this season (1785), a small sloop, to prosecute the fisheries. On board that sloop, he put some part of this salt, with the permit along with it—A revenue-cutter fell in with his vessel, and seized vessel and salt, provisions and all together.—Such are the hardships which people must encounter, who attempt to fish in those seas at present; and it is easy to see that no sort of business can be carried on under these restraints, whatever advantages it might otherwise afford.

other purpose but to carry their men, and boats, and nets, and salt, and casks, to the fishing-ground, and there to spend their time in perfect idleness,† for three months, if they should not in that time fall in with any shoals of herrings, and to bring all these articles back again to the customhouse, to entitle the owners to relieve their salt-bonds, and to draw the bounty allowed by Government—a bounty, which, in these circumstances, is very dearly bought.

If, on the other hand, these busses meet with a successful fishery, there is nearly an equal waste unnecessarily incurred. In that case, a buss may sometimes obtain her full loading in a few days. Put the case so, that loading is no sooner obtained, than the *whole* of the hands, and boats, and nets, must be carried away from the fishing, (where they could at that time be employed to the

† They are not at liberty to follow any other employment, but fishing for herrings. It often happens, that they could, when thus idle, catch their ship-loading of other kinds of fish equally valuable as herrings, were they at liberty to take them.

the best purpose, if permitted to remain) home to the customhouse again, a long voyage, during which they must remain entirely idle as before. But, during the time idly spent in that voyage, the supernumerary hands in a buss, above what are wanted for navigating her, if they had remained with their boats and nets at the fishing, and had been supplied with salt and cask from near stores by small tenders, might have caught perhaps a dozen of cargoes. Many other advantages the natives would possess over the buss-men under their present regulations, were these natives at liberty to engage in this fishery; but they must here be omitted, to avoid becoming tiresome. — If ever, therefore, it is intended

Among other particulars, the following case will show to what an unnecessary expence the owners of busses are subjected. — Many of the hands that are employed in the fishery, are natives of the west coast and isles. Before they can enter on board a buss, they must go to Greenock, Rothesay, or Campbelton, and there wait till they be engaged and mustered; if at Greenock or Rothesay, they must proceed to Campbelton to be rendezvoused, where they may be detained, on an average, about a week or

ed seriously to encourage these fisheries, the Reporter humbly conceives, that the first step should be, so to alter the salt-laws, as to permit the native inhabitants of the coasts and islands, to engage freely in this business *for their own benefit*, with advantages equal to those that are enjoyed by any others: and this, he imagines, never can be the case, until they shall at least be at liberty to purchase salt in any quantities however small, without restriction, and be enabled to obtain this salt at a price not exceeding that for which it can be purchased by others, who can become our rivals in that fishery; and till they be also allowed to dispose of their fish, without these cumbersome restraints which at present tend so powerfully to clog the commerce of that ar-

## O 2

## ticle,

ten days, before they can beat round the Mull of Cantire; From thence to the fishing-locks, may be, on an average, a voyage of a fortnight. Thus, after a month or six weeks time idly spent, the fisherman comes to the very spot from whence he set out. The same waste of time is made on his return, for which he must be indemnified by superior wages, not to mention provisions spent in idle voyages.



tiety, and to diminish the profits of the undertakers, by often withholding them from the very best markets\*.

ANOTHER inconvenience arising from the present system of salt-laws, must not be overlooked, because it tends essentially to injure the revenue in one of its principal branches. By a system of policy, the principle of which is not at all obvious, our Legislature have permitted an unlimited exportation of brack-salt from Liverpool to Ireland, while it is totally prohibited to be carried to Scotland. And as rock-salt can be purified and refined at less than one-third part of the expence of salt made from sea-water, the Irish, independent of duty, can thus obtain their salt at a much smaller price than it can be afforded for in Scotland. But, not satisfied with affording them this single advantage, our Legislators have also permitted the exportation of coals to Ireland, under the moderate duty of 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per ton, tho' no coals are permitted

\* See M, Illustrations.

permitted to be carried coastwise in Britain, without paying a duty of 3s. 10d. *per ton*. By this means, the Irish not only obtain their crude salt from Britain, but are also furnished with fuel at a much smaller expence than British subjects can obtain it for. With these coals they boil up our rock salt at a very moderate price: And as this salt in Ireland is only charged with a duty of three-pence *per bushel*, it can be sold so much lower than British salt, as to lay the foundation of a smuggling trade in that article along all the west coasts of Britain, by which the revenue arising from the salt duties must be diminished to a very great degree. What may be the precise amount of the defalcation of revenue thus produced, the Reporter cannot pretend to ascertain\*; but, from what

\* The extent of the trade in smuggled salt on these coasts, may be guessed at from the following fact.—A single person, in one of the islands, owned, that in one year, he himself imported into that island, no less than nine hundred and seventy tons, which is equal to thirty-eight thousand eight hundred and eighty bushels.—There were several other persons who followed the same trade in that island, besides himself.

what he has seen, he is fully convinced, that at least *five hundred thousand* persons in Scotland never employ any thing but Irish-made salt: and he has no doubt but that a quantity at least equal to that has been run into England; for, tho' the silk may perhaps be there greater, the temptation is greater also, on account of the higher salt-duties in England.

From this state of facts, it will no doubt appear expedient to your Lordships, to devise some mode of putting a speedy stop to an evil of such magnitude, were the improvement of the fisheries entirely out of the question. And this can be with certainty effected in no other way than by removing the temptation to it, by diminishing or annihilating the profits on that trade; for effecting which, the means are easy and obvious.

## 14.

It is of importance also, under this head, to remark, that as the law at present stands, the inhabitants of Britain are debarred from having any share in

the

the trade of salted provisions: For, tho' beef or pork could be afforded fresh at the same price in Britain as in Ireland, yet the Irish-salted beef or pork could be sold for exportation, at about nine shillings per barrel cheaper than the British; and if they are to be consumed in Britain, the Irish beef or pork could be sold at about fourteen shillings per barrel cheaper than the British. It deserves farther to be remarked, that for every barrel of Irish beef consumed in Britain, the revenue loses a duty on the salt equal to twelve shillings per barrel nearly, that it would have drawn if British beef had been employed in its stead; so that Britain in effect pays, though probably without intending it, through mere inadvertency, a bounty of twelve shillings per barrel on all Irish beef or pork imported into Britain, with a view as it would seem to encourage the produce and manufactures of that country, to the evident

† For a proof of these facts, see a Memorial to the Lords of Treasury by Lord Galloway and others, dated the 15th April 1783. Appendix, No. 4.



evident detriment of our own. When these different objects shall be duly considered, there can be no doubt but your Lordships will perceive the necessity of an early and careful revival of the salt-laws, with a view to correct defects that are attended with such great and pernicious consequences.

15.

THE Reporter begs leave farther to inform, That though the western parts of Scotland are in general mountainous, yet that these mountains, for the most part, tho' extremely steep and rugged, are of no very considerable height above the level of the sea: That these mountains usually run out into long ridges, which are divided from each other by narrow stripes of flat land, there called *straths*, which run back in an irregular direction into the heart of the country, frequently extending far with very little elevation above the level of the sea: That the numerous arms of the sea which indent the shores of that country, forming a great number of safe and commodious harbours,

harbours, which are there called *lochs*, occupy the beds of these valleys at one extremity: That within land, these valleys, wherever the bottom sinks below the general level, form fresh-water lochs, which usually are of great length in proportion to their breadth: That these straths, with their numerous accompanying lochs, sometimes form a chain of great length, which in its course meets with and intersects other straths (in which are other lochs) of great extent, which reach the sea at a great distance from the place where the first-mentioned strath began. This is the general and prevailing conformation of the country, —a conformation which would be the source of singular benefits, —were that country once *improved, manufacturing, populous, and commercial*; but which is productive of many inconveniences to a thinly-peopled country, that tend much to retard its improvement. For, though it cannot be denied, that this particular conformation tends to extend the bounds of the coasts, and to bring many places within

within reach of the sea even in its natural state, that must otherwise have been at a great distance from it; tho' it also gives an opportunity of extending that advantage to many places that are now very far within land, by giving room for artificial canals, and level roads, (that would open a trade through many different channels), at an expence beyond a comparison smaller than could be effected in other parts of the world; and though it offers advantages for manufactures of a singular kind, not only by giving an unequalled command of running water for turning machinery, whose force might be encreased to any degree required, by the height of fall that might be always commanded, but also by giving an opportunity of conveying to these places of manufactures, all kinds of weighty materials, with ease and safety, along these level canals, either to or from the market: Yet these benefits, however great, could only be experienced in a commercial country. In the infancy of society, these ridges, instead of  
facili-

facilitating trade, greatly interrupt the little commerce that might be carried on by individuals between place and place: For, across these rugged ridges of mountains, no direct roads of communication can easily be opened; and the circuit along the valleys is so long, and the navigation from loch to loch (sea-lochs are here alluded to) that often necessarily interrupt the roads, is so troublesome, that the small traffic, which in a thinly-people country must always be carried on by individuals, in *retail*, if that phrase can be understood, must be often entirely interrupted. An example will here make the meaning plain.—Suppose, for instance, that a wealthy merchant in a flourishing city, had occasion to send to another considerable place, a thousand tons of merchandise;—such a man would find he could send it much cheaper by sea, than if he had to transport it the same distance by land: But let it be supposed, that another, whose whole goods did not amount to half a hundred weight, was to set out from a place



place where he might be able to dispose of part of his small load of goods, the case would be far different. By land, he can set out with his load on his shoulders when he pleases; can carry his provisions, if necessary, in his pocket; and return without loss of time. But, by sea, in such circumstances, he must hire a boat, be at the expence of maintaining at least four men, must wait winds and tides, which brings on him such a heavy expence, as is altogether disproportioned to his circumstances. That little commerce, therefore, is interrupted, and the improvement of the country proportionally retarded. †

To produce more examples of this kind, might be tiresome; but to have omitted the above, would have been improper, as it serves to give a true idea of that country, and to account for several phænomena that would have appeared inexplicable.

16.

THE most extensive of these straths, is that which runs across the island between

† See N, Illustrations.

tween the Sound of Mull and Inverness, through which, were the country full of people, manufactures, and commerce, might be carried an extensive canal, of such magnitude and utility as could not be equalled in Europe; but which, it is feared, could scarcely admit of being carried through, in the present state of the country, with an adequate profit to the undertakers.\*

FROM this grand canal would branch off several others of lesser note, which would carry the navigation to many places in the most internal parts of the country. The most considerable of these branches, is that which goes from Fort-William through Loch-Shiel, and enters the western sea at Loch-Moidart. This communication is so nearly open at present, and would be immediately attended with such benefits to the country, and could be executed at an expence so very small,

\* See an estimate of the expence of making this canal, &c. by Mr. Watt with observations upon the same subject, by Dr. Anderson. Appendix, No. 5. and 6.

small, that it seems to be one of those lesser undertakings which is perfectly adapted to the present state of the country, and therefore might be accomplished with profit to the undertakers.

18. **LOCH FINE** is the largest of those salt-lochs in Scotland, running up near a hundred miles from the Mull of Cantire to Inveraray, and communicating near its mouth with many large openings, among which the river Clyde is the most considerable. The peninsula of Cantire, which separates it from the sea, affords a long stretch of coast on its west side, of very difficult navigation, by reason of the flatness of its shores, and the want of harbours along the whole coast. Yet, along that coast, and through the stormy sea that usually rages round the Mull of Cantire, must all vessels at present pass, that carry on the fisheries on our coast, or that exercise a traffic with the western islands; for, within that head-land, lie all the towns at which  
any

• See O, Illustrations.

any exchange of commodities can at present be made.\* Nature here has also been kind, by interjecting two valleys across that isthmus, in which, with little difficulty, might be made canals, thro' which all the commerce from the southern parts of Scotland to the Hebrides might be carried on with infinite benefit to the public. The shortest of these canals, but at the same time the least useful, might be carried across the isthmus at Tarmachan †: But the most beneficial, tho' somewhat longer in extent, would be from Loch-Gilp on the east, to Loch-Crinan on the west. ‡ This also, the Reporter conceives to be one of these lesser

\* The fishing boats from Barra usually carry their dried fish to Glasgow to be disposed of, and are often lost going round the Mull of Cantire. Last year, 1783-4, of five boats that went from Barra, two were lost on their way to Clyde, and one on their return, and all on board perished: Few years pass without some loss there; but it is seldom so bad as the above.

† See F. Illustrations.

‡ See an estimate of the expence of making both these canals by Mr. Watt, Appendix, No. 7. § as also, observations on the Crinan canal, by Dr. Anderson, Appendix, No. 8.



lesser undertakings that are perfectly adapted to the present state of the country, which might be *now* undertaken with a certainty of indemnification to the undertakers. Both these canals, (he means that at Loch-Moidart and Loch-Crinan), he has no doubt, were proper Acts of Parliament obtained for the purpose, to give a reasonable security to those concerned, might be executed by private individuals, with little if any public aid. Many other canals equally easy to be executed, which would prove extremely beneficial, might here be pointed out; but these would come to be gradually discovered, and carried into effect as the rising commerce of the country called for them. To launch out into a multiplicity of undertakings of that sort at present, would only exhaust that stock which might more properly be otherwise employed. When wealth is gradually acquiring, these communications will come to be successively opened as the want of them is felt. More, therefore, needs not now be said on that head.

ANOTHER work of great public utility, which does not admit of being executed by private persons, is to open a communication for facilitating the beginning internal commerce of the country already alluded to, and for conveying intelligence from place to place expeditiously and regularly. This can only be done by forming one line of practicable road at no great distance from the west coast, but so far within land as to avoid all ferries if possible; by means of which, the inhabitants of the several valleys might have a communication with each other by land. Here, little more would be wanted, but such a path as a horse could travel on with ease and safety: For, as all weighty commodities can be transported by the valleys to the sea, and thus from place to place, it is only for the carriage of *small* matters, and the regular conveyance of intelligence, that this line of road can be wanted. The herring-fishers at present are subjected to much loss of time, and often to a great expence, from

the want of such intelligence. Nor can this fishery be ever carried on with half the benefit to the undertakers it might be, were this effected.—Many plans have been suggested to the Reporter, for freeing the herring-fishers from this inconvenience; all of which, except the above, he finds liable to innumerable difficulties. But, were the line of roads here mentioned carried through, and were regular packet-boats established from the different islands, to communicate with that road, the communication would be quick and certain: And this, he is persuaded, could be done at a very moderate charge to Government, which would soon be repaid by the returns it would occasion in many different ways.

20.

AFTER having thus given a full and impartial account of the present state of those remote countries, the Reporter shall now humbly submit the following propositions to your Lordships consideration, as the measures that he imagines most expedient to be taken, would

See Q, Illustrations.

would tend the most effectually to establish the fisheries, and promote the prosperity of those isles.

### SALT LAWS. †

As it appears to the Reporter to be altogether impossible to devise measures that will prevent frauds on the revenue, without occasioning destructive restraints upon the fishers, if an exemption of duty is granted for salt employed in curing fish, while a duty is charged on salt employed for other family-purposes; he would humbly propose, that no difference should be allowed to take place in this respect, as it only gives rise to frauds and destructive embarrassments that ought ever most carefully to be avoided.

But as the fishermen of Ireland, of Holland, of Denmark and of every other nation that can come into competition with Britain in the fisheries, are allowed to employ duty-free salt for that purpose, or salt that pays such a moderate duty

P 2

† This article, and some that follow, are here a little altered from the original Report.



as to be, comparatively speaking, nothing, it will be necessary to allow the British fishermen duty-free salt also, otherwise it will be impossible for our fishermen to stand a fair competition in any market with those rival nations.

Hence it follows, that the whole of the salt-duties in Britain should be taken off; and with that, all those destructive restraints upon commerce and industry, which that system of salt-laws has occasioned, if ever we hope to see the fisheries on the coast of Scotland carried to the perfection they are naturally susceptible of.

In the present state of the finances of Britain, it may perhaps appear to your Lordships rather a bold measure, to attempt to give up a branch of revenue that appears to be so productive as the salt-duties: Yet, when it is attentively considered in all its consequences, the Reporter believes it will be discovered, that few taxes are, in their operation, more hurtful to the industry and manufactures of the country, than the salt-duty;

duty; and that, by consequence, should this tax be repealed, it may be easy to find some others that might be adopted in its stead, which would prove equally productive, and far less burthensome to the people. §

And as it is found by experience, that rock-salt refined by a careful process, is equally proper for curing fish or other provisions, as any other kind of salt, and can be sold, when thus refined, at a much lower price than salt made from sea-water can be afforded for, it will be proper that all restraints that have been adopted as to the commerce of this article in Britain, be wholly removed; and that permission be given, in the most unequivocal manner, to transport either the crude rock-salt itself, or the salt manufactured from it, entirely free of duties, or any kind of restraint or public charges whatever, to every part of Britain. It is difficult to conceive a plausible pretext why the restraints on this article should ever have been adopted; and

§ See R, Illustrations.

and we cannot make too much haste to rescind a regulation that is of so very hurtful a tendency.

## C O A L S.

BUT the benefit that would result to the fisheries by the aforesaid regulations, would be much limited in their influence, in comparison of what they might be, if the inhabitants of those regions shall not be permitted to transport coals along the coast, free of duty. The granting of this indulgence, it might be shown, could not injure the revenue fifty pounds a-year (probably not five pounds), but would prove an unspeakable advantage to the fisheries. In that case, salt-works could be erected in every convenient spot in the neighbourhood of the fisheries, each of which would prove an inexhaustible magazine of salt, from which every poor man in the country could obtain a single bushel, or any greater quantity exactly when he wanted it, so as to be thus certain of always finding abundance, without laying up any

any useless stores†. In these circumstances also, he might obtain, when he chose it, as many barrels as he pleased, of brine, (being a purified saturated solution of rock-salt), which would be an article of the greatest utility in curing fish, and which could be afforded at a moderate price, as all the expence of manufacture would be saved. This he never could obtain were the salt-works at a distance, on account of the freight, and the difficulty of getting his barrels filled, &c.—By this indulgence also, new manufactures might in many cases be established along with the salt-works, which would diminish the expence of the manufacture. Thus, limestone may be burnt by the same fuel which boils the salt, as is now practised in Ireland: And as limestone abounds in these islands, this useful article might thus be afforded at a very small expence. Iron-ore, which also abounds in several places, might thus be roasted at a very small expence. Other ores, where these are found, might

† See R 2 Illustrations.



also be, in some cases, melted. — In short, wherever a continued heat is wanted, by a little ingenuity, it might be so disposed as to act on evaporating the salt, while it at the same time produced its other effects. The benefits, therefore, that would accrue from putting such within their reach, in places where it might most be wanted, are obvious, tho' the extent of the benefits it might eventually procure, cannot now be guessed at. It is scarcely to be doubted; therefore, that that indulgence will be refused, when it can prove hurtful neither to the public revenue, nor to any individual.

Perhaps it would be good policy to lower the duty on all coals exported to foreign parts in British bottoms, which by thus encreasing the demand abroad, would find a market for British produce and British manufactures, increase the revenue, augment our marine, and give additional strength to the State. — But on this subject, it would be improper to enlarge.

## VILLAGES AND TOWNS.

WERE these necessary preliminaries settled, all that is wanted for establishing the fisheries, could be effected with little trouble or expence.—It appears from the foregoing account of these countries, that the dispersion of the people, their dependence on the soil, and that slavery which results from it, are the chief causes, together with the salt-laws, that have hitherto prevented the people from engaging in the fishery. The next step, therefore, after correcting the errors of the salt-laws, will be to give freedom and independence to the people.

When we look back into the annals of South Britain, we observe, that there was a time when the great body of the people were slaves to their superiors, in the strictest sense of the word, being nearly in the same state of abject dependence that the people in Poland and Russia are at this day. We now perceive, that perfect freedom pervades the whole mass, and that every man is at liberty to exert his

his own talents in the best way he can, for his own emolument. By what means was this slavery so gradually and imperceptibly abolished in the State, as to have occasioned no political convulsions, and even to have escaped the notice of analysts and contemporary historians?

The answer to this question is now easy. It was by the establishing of towns, and granting to the inhabitants of these, certain privileges and immunities that were not at first thought to be of great moment, but which gradually produced a wonderful change in our civil polity. To these places of refuge, people in abject circumstances, those who were outcasts from society, or too cruelly treated by their lords, fled for safety and protection. Without knowing in what manner to account for it, those who were disposed to be industrious, found always abundant employment there, and were enabled to live at their ease. Trade crept into these places, and manufactures insensibly were established in them: Wealth flowed in upon the people, which enabled

abled them to afford still more and more effectual protection to the individual members of their community. These places became gradually more and more attractive to those without; and the fear of driving away their vassals from their liege lords, mitigated the severities of servitude, till at last all tyrannic exertions gradually fell into oblivion, and we found ourselves in possession of that freedom which all surrounding nations admire.

Since such was heretofore the salutary effects of this wise measure; we have every reason to expect the same beneficial effects would now result from a similar plan of conduct. With that view, the following plan is recommended:—

LET it be made known in all parts of those countries, That every Gentleman who should resolve to establish upon his estate, a town, or village, by granting *feus*\*, upon a spot that should be approved

\* The term *feu* is, I believe, peculiar to Scotland: it means a perpetual property granted by a feudal superior to a vassal, on his continuing to pay a certain stipulated sum annually, in name of feu-duty. This property is transmitted



ved off by Government, and according to a plan that should be in like manner approved

ed by charter, in the same manner as any other landed property holding of a subject-superior. It differs from what is commonly called in Scotland, a landed estate, holding of a subject-superior, chiefly in this respect, that when a man purchases an estate, he pays a consideration for it, that entitles him to draw the whole of its rents, only paying to the superior some trifling acknowledgement when called for. In disposing of *feus*, on the contrary, the superior sometimes gets no purchase-money at all, but reserves a right to obtain a certain stipulated annuity for ever, which can neither be augmented nor diminished, but by a new bargain. But, for the most part, the purchaser of the *feu* pays down a certain sum, in consequence of which, he redeems a proportional part of the *feu-duty*. The amount of this proportion thus paid for by the purchaser, varies very much according to the circumstances and disposition of the parties. In the present case, it is proposed, that no part of the price should be paid down but that the whole should be an annual rent, as if it were a lease in perpetuity. Indeed, a lease, were it equally agreeable to the people in Scotland, would be a better tenure for such small property as is here proposed, — as the expence of transmitting the property would be less, and all feudal claims would be avoided. But no lease appears half so eligible to the common people in Scotland, as a *feu*; and therefore, it would be improper to adopt that mode of tenure on the present occasion.

approved of under the conditions after mentioned, shall be entitled to obtain from Government, the sum of one thousand pounds Sterling, together with a charter, given *gratis*, erecting this village into a corporation, with a power to the inhabitants to elect their own magistrates, &c. as soon as he shall be able to show, that one thousand feus \*, in any one such town, are granted off, and occupied; and shall, besides, be entitled to receive one hundred pounds more, for each hundred additional feus that shall be granted off and settled, and so on in all time coming.

The conditions required to entitle him to these gratuities, are, That each lot of ground so fenced off, shall not be less than one sixteenth part of a Scotch statute-acre, for which an annual quit-rent, not exceeding half-a-crown (or at that proportion for larger areas) shall be demanded: That the ground be granted to

\* If large towns were to be established independent of these smaller places, perhaps it would not be necessary to insist on such a great number of houses: Possibly it would be adviseable, in that case, to give the premium to each hundred houses from the beginning.

to each feuer and his heirs for ever, free from every other exaction or irritancy whatever; under this sole restriction, that the occupant shall become bound in one year and a-half, or two ye ars at farthest, to erect upon it a house, in the position marked in the plan, which house shall be occupied by himself, or some other person, or in case of non-performance, that it shall revert to the donor: And also under the condition, that a habitable house shall in all time coming be kept up upon it, which, if suffered to fall into ruins, and to remain in that state for the space of three years together, shall, in that case, revert to the lord of the manor; with some other lesser articles mentioned in the notes. \*

On the other hand, for the encouragement of poor settlers in such villages, let it be likeways made known, that as soon as six men who have obtained separate feus as aforesaid, shall go before any Magistrate or Justice of Peace, and make oath, that they are feuers in such a town

or

\* See S, Illustrations.

or village (naming it), and that they intend to follow the business of fishing as their chief employment, he shall give them a certification under his hand to that effect, which, on being presented to the Government, being authorised for that purpose, shall entitle them to receive from Government, on the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_ thereafter (on which day each year these premiums shall be distributed), a stout new boat, well calculated for carrying on the fishing in those seas, with oars and other furniture complete; together with as much dressed hemp as shall be sufficient to make a set of nets and fishing-lines for the boat; as also, a number of fishing-hooks sufficient for mounting these lines completely. All this they shall receive *gratis*, upon entering into a recognisance themselves, together with a gentleman of character as surety; or, instead of a gentleman, with the owners of two boats, who shall have been inhabitants of the same place, and proprietors of a boat for at least one year before that; these persons and their sureties



sureties coming bound to employ that boat in all time coming, for the purpose of fishing chiefly; and in particular, that it shall never be employed for the purpose of smuggling, under the penalty of forfeiting the value of the boat when new, with all its apparelling and apparatus compleat. \*

By this simple arrangement, these poor fishermen would at once obtain freedom and independence: the means of earning their bread would be put into their hand; and as they would be placed together in numbers, tradesmen and artificers would soon find it their interest to come among them;—this would attract merchants. As numbers encreased, a daily market for fresh fish, and small articles of consumption, would soon start up; and greater periodical markets would be established, at which a more important traffic could be carried on. And being within reach of a large town, as shall presently be shown, they could, in concert, send thither, when necessary, out of their common stock, as much as would be sufficient

\* See T, Illustrations.

sufficient to load a boat completely, and obtain in return such assortments of goods as they wanted. They would not, therefore, be subjected either to those cruel abatements of price in their own commodities, to which they are now liable, or be obliged to pay those extravagant rates for what they want to buy, which they must of necessity submit to at present.

It may perhaps be imagined, that the proprietors could be found to agree to institute villages on this plan, yet the inducement to bring settlers thither, would be too small to collect many, but in a long course of time. But the Reporter, from what he has remarked of the circumstances and mode of thinking of the people, believes, that these inducements, tho' acknowledged to be exceeding small, would be sufficient to produce the desired effect. From the precariousness of their present tenure, these poor peoples mind is kept in a state of perpetual inquietude, so that they account any thing that has the appearance of giving them

a fixed property, however small it may be, as one of the greatest blessings of life. And he could produce many examples of the amazing influence of this propensity among the lower ranks of persons in other parts of Scotland, where the liberty they enjoyed was out of all degree of comparison greater than in those regions. He has not a doubt, therefore, but that this, together with the boat and furniture, would be sufficient to bring together many thousand settlers into any one place, in a very short space of time†. Such a situation must evidently appear much more desirable to them than emigrating to America, which many of them are compelled, much against their inclinations, to think of.—From these considerations, the Reporter is convinced, that numbers would flock to these places as soon as the conditions were publicly known, so as to make

† To attempt to give houses, as some will propose, he conceives would give rise to jobs and frauds of various sorts, which would exhaust much treasure, and benefit the poor people very little.

make them increase very quickly to a numerous society.

It was from a contemplation of the many benefits that individuals would reap from a *numerous* society, that no encouragement is proposed to be given to the proprietor, till one thousand lots be occupied in one place. This regulation would be productive of two good effects. It would prevent the establishing a number of small insignificant villages, in which the inhabitants would experience all the inconveniences of a town, without reaping any of its benefits; and it would induce gentlemen to exert themselves, in some cases with vigour, to bring people to settle with them. This might tend to lower the rate of quit-rent required, and make the proprietors studious to grant them every other little accommodation in their power, and every thing of that kind must tend ultimately to augment the prosperity of the whole.

The encouragement here held out to the proprietor, will by some be thought too small. But, in fact, no encourage-



ment to him was necessary;—as it is impossible to devise any other plan, by means of which, he could increase the value of his property so much as this would do, without either trouble or expense on his part. The rent he would in the first place receive for the ground thus given off in perpetuity, would be much more than he could otherwise have obtained, being at the rate of forty millings per acre; and this for land, which, in many cases, never could have been worth forty farthings per acre. For one thousand lots at this rate, he would draw *L. 125 per annum*; the thousand pounds he is to receive from Government, at five per cent. affords an annuity of *L. 50 more in all, L. 175 per annum*; which, in some cases, would be entirely an addition to his income;—the rent of the lands thus to be given off being nothing. In other cases, perhaps a deduction of five, or possibly of ten pounds, may be made from it, so that he acquires an *abridgement* of better than one hundred and

sixty pounds a-year to his estate, without costing himself one single farthing\*.

But, this is only a small part of the profits he will draw, in consequence of this measure being adopted. When many men are settled in one place, they must not only have food for themselves, but for cows and horses, and other animals, which can only be had in the neighbourhood. A market is thus brought to hand for all kinds of vegetables and grain, &c. dung is produced, which serves to enrich the neighbouring lands;—barren plots are quickly converted into corn-fields.

\* I cannot tell how rheides should have become so general, that the granting *sews* upon an estate, and thus establishing villages or towns upon it, would be attended with expence to the proprietor; for, nothing is more certain, than that this requires from them no sort of expence whatever. I have known many cases, where the proprietor drew, at the *beginning*, considerable sums of money from the *sewers*; but I know not any one instance, where the system was attempted on a *liberal* plan, that it was attended with any expence whatever. I therefore conclude, that gentlemen who excuse themselves from making such attempts, on account of their inability to afford money to carry them into practice, speak without having duly considered the matter.

fields,—and the value of his land around, becomes ten times greater than it otherwise would have been; so that in a few years, a proprietor who made such an establishment, would find his revenue bettered by this alteration, probably five hundred, or a thousand pounds a-year, instead of one hundred and sixty; (the Reporter has known cases where the rent of land has been augmented better than twenty thousand pounds a-year, by the encrease of a town in the neighbourhood.) If, therefore, the proprietor knew his own interest, he would be a gainer should he pay the thousand pounds to Government, instead of receiving it. But as individuals do not in all cases see clearly where their interest lies, and as many of them are apt to grasp at the first profit, as the only one they have to expect, and thus to think of raising the quit-rent as high as it is possible for them to obtain; it is perhaps better for all parties, that they should thus be bribed to adopt that mode of conduct, which will tend most effectually to promote their

their own interest, while it likewise augments the general welfare of the community †.

On  
† Dr Adam Smith with his usual distinctness and accuracy, has remarked, that 'the rent of land not only varies with its fertility, whatever be its produce, but with its situation, whatever be its fertility.' Nor can any position be assumed, which is more strictly true than this is. In the neighbourhood of a town, the value of land is increased to an astonishing degree more than land capable of yielding the same produce in a remote part of the country. Hence it necessarily happens, that when a town is set down in a place where none was before, the value of the land around it rises greatly above what it was. The village of Old Meldrum in Aberdeenshire, consisting of three or four hundred houses, has been established within the course of the present century nearly, by granting off feus, without any expence to the proprietor; and although the situation is in many respects inconvenient, yet from this small village, the proprietor draws a free rent above five hundred pounds a-year (as I have been repeatedly assured) more than he could have obtained had not that village been established. The town of Aberdeen has increased in its population greatly within the last fifty years, in consequence whereof, many thousand acres of the most barren land that can be conceived, have been converted into fine corn-fields in the neighbourhood of it, and now are let for, I presume, above thirty thousand pounds a-year more than they formerly



On the other hand, Government would in this case, make a purchase that would prove perhaps equally advantageous to the Public. A boat, with the other necessities above specified, would cost about eighteen pounds. This divided among six families, is three pounds for each family: the bounty to the proprietor is twenty shillings more:—in all, four pounds.—At this rate, supposing the settlers were

formerly yielded.—Even a very small establishment, where any branch of manufacture fixes a few people to one spot, very soon produces a change upon the country around, that never otherwise could have been experienced. The iron forge at Dunaw gives employment to several families, who were set down in the neighbourhood of it a few years ago, upon a bleak moor, which yielded only a little dwarfish heath: several hundred acres of that moor are now converted into beautiful fields of grass and corn, where smiling plenty reigns, instead of dreary desolation: Even the steep mountain at Fort-William, which seems incapable of any degree of improvement, is now overspread with hanging gardens and corn-fields.—These examples may serve to convince any attentive observer, that the proprietor of land around any new-established town, cannot fail to receive a great addition to his revenue, in consequence of that establishment, without any trouble or expence on his part.

to be *all* fishers, and supposing each family on an average to consist of five persons, this would amount to no more than sixteen shillings a-head. But if we suppose the one-half of these should be artificers of other kinds, each of whose families cost only twenty shillings to Government, or four shillings a-head, each person, in this case, on an average, would cost Government only ten shillings. This is the expence:—let us now see what would be the return.

Every person who would be brought into these towns, may be said to pay at present no taxes at all to Government; (it would be easy to prove, that they pay really less than none). When they should thus be brought into a compacted society, they will pay equal to the average rate yielded by others in populous districts in Britain. It is known, that about seven millions of such people in Britain pay at present nearly fourteen millions of pounds Sterling in taxes,—which is nearly forty shillings a-head. At that rate, Government, in settling a thousand families,

families, expends L. 2,500, and in return obtains from thence a clear revenue of ten thousand pounds a-year. This surely will be allowed to be a most advantageous bargain.

It is impossible here to avoid drawing a short comparison between the effects of money laid out thus, or for other purposes on which the national treasure is usually expended. We have all known twenty guineas given to raise a single recruit to the army, who, instead of yielding any revenue, only helps to exhaust it; whereas an equal sum *thus* applied, would purchase a perpetual annuity (I should say a perpetually-increasing annuity) of one hundred and twenty pounds Sterling. It is thus, and thus only, I mean by putting the people into such a situation as gives room for effective industry, that ever the national revenue can be *essentially* advanced:—all other systems of finance are but the pitiful workings of little minds, which occasion much trouble, and end in vexation and disappointment.

By

By the mode proposed above, many large villages might be quickly founded, which would gradually attain the size of towns. But something more is wanted to give a vivacious stimulus at the beginning, to put the whole machine in motion. A vigorous push should be made to establish at the beginning, at least *one* large town, which should serve as a centre of trade, as a general mart for all the adjacent places, and which should be endowed with higher privileges than those already mentioned, and be exalted to a degree of pre-eminence becoming the dignified part she would have to act among the surrounding lesser communities.

With this view, it would be necessary for Government to make choice of a proper place for that purpose, and there to purchase, or obtain from the proprietor, a quantity of ground sufficient for the site of a large town, with a district around it, to be applied in the manner after mentioned.

Let



Let a plan of that town be made out, divided into streets, wards, and districts, properly adapted for giving effect to the several necessary regulations of police. On that plan, let places be marked off for houses of different classes; those who made choice of a lot in any of these different classes, being entitled to obtain a lot of land in the country, of greater or smaller extent, according to the class in which it ranked, and to the value of the house that was required to be built on the several town-lots of these classes: Certain privileges to be annexed to the possessors of the different classes, and a proportional rate appropriated to each in regard to municipal taxes: The lowest class of inhabitants to be exactly in the same situation, and to be entitled to the same bounties from Government, as those of the villages already mentioned; with this only difference, that all the lots should be here given off in perpetuity without any reserved quit-rent whatever. Let a plan of municipal government be made out for this town, calculated to preserve

preserve order, and a due regard for the laws. \* Let the Magistrates be endowed, *ex officio*, with powers sufficient to make the magistracy respected, and the people with privileges that should be sufficient to bar against arbitrary exertions of power.

### NEW SHERIFFDOMS.

STILL farther, to add to the weight and dignity of this place, and to confer a singular blessing on the inhabitants of those countries, of which they are deprived at present, let a convenient district around it be erected into a Shrievalty, and let a Sheriff of course be named by the Crown, to take cognizance of all civil trespasses against the laws, and to administer justice among them. At present, these countries are so remote from the seat of justice, that it is a matter of great difficulty and expence to obtain justice by law; which is one of the many causes that tend to depress the people. This, therefore, is one of those most essentially necessary

\* See U, Illustrations,—and Appendix, No. 10.

necessary regulations that ought long ago to have been thought of.

Should these measures be adopted, the conveniences for trade are there so eminently conspicuous, that a large town would quickly be established, that would serve as a centre of trade to all those regions. And should the ground be granted to Government for this purpose

by

• Those who have not turned their attention to subjects of this nature, will not be able easily to form an idea of the hardships the natives experience from this circumstance. In some places, the people are near two hundred miles from the seat of justice, with which they can have no correspondence, but by expresser sent on purpose. In this situation, suppose a man of wealth and power chooses to do violence or injustice to a poor man, how is he to obtain redress? In all cases, a prudent man will compute which is the least of two evils, when he must submit to one. If, then, the injury he sustains, be not so great as the loss he must submit to before he can obtain redress, he will in prudence bear with it, rather than attempt to obtain justice. Suppose, for example, that a man who has power in his hands, defrauds or injures another to the value of five shillings, and the person injured knows that it would cost him at least five pounds expences to recover these five shillings, he must submit to that

by the proprietor, which it certainly ought to be, seeing his revenue would necessarily be encreased thereby many thousand pounds a-year, it would cost Government next to nothing: or if they had occasion to purchase the ground, a very few thousand pounds would be altogether sufficient to effect the work.

One large town would be absolutely necessary; and perhaps near Dunvegan in Skye, is the best situation for such a town. There are four others which are proper

that loss without attempting redress. In the same manner, if one man owes another any small sum, and does not choose to pay it, the means of compelling him are so difficult, that it can scarcely be attempted. On these accounts, rascals and oppressors of every kind, are allowed to practise their villainies almost without controul; and, were not the morals of the people in general better than in places where social intercourse is greater, it would be impossible for any quiet well-disposed person to live there at all. But, where the checks against iniquitous transactions are so few, it is sufficiently plain that commercial transactions must of necessity be few also. To attempt, therefore, to introduce commerce and manufactures, in these circumstances, were absurd.—The regulations mentioned in the text, must first take place, before the others can be attempted with the smallest prospect of success.



proper situations for municipal towns, and which it is probable, the proprietors would be well pleased to give off on the same terms:—these are, Stornoway in Lewis, Loch-Boidale in South-Uist, Tobermory in Mull, and Bownmore in Islay.—Were each of these proposed to be erected into a shrievalty, and endowed with the same privileges with those already mentioned, as they all belong to men of great property, it is highly probable they would be glad to agree to the condition, were Government to tender them the boon.

In that case, the Hebrides would be divided into five shrievalties, *viz.*

**ISLAY**—comprehending the islands of Islay, Jura, Colonsay, and Oransey.

**MULL**—comprehending the whole of that island, with its lesser islands, also, Scarba, Lunga, Long, Suell, Easdale, Kerrera, Lismore, Tiree, and Coll, with some of the adjacent coasts of Ardnamurchan, and to the eastward of it.

**SKYE**—comprehending Skye, Cannay, Rum, Egg, Muich, Raafay, Rona, and

part

part of the continent opposite to it, as far as the different lochs extend; it being much easier for the inhabitants of those coasts to go thither, than to Inverness, the county-town at present.

UIST—comprehending South and North Uist, Benbuclia, Barra, and the lesser isles.

LEWIS—comprehending Lewis itself, Harris, and the lesser isles, with a part of the west coast of Scotland, from Loch-inver to Cape-wrath!

Thus could justice be distributed with ease and expedition, through all those regions:—the people would obtain perfect freedom:—markets for every commodity they could possess, would be opened:—a general prosperity of the whole people, would be the first consequence:—an extension of trade, and a prodigious augmentation of revenue to the State, would necessarily follow.

## CUSTOM-HOUSES.

If the measures proposed were adopted, customhouses would come to be erected

erected of course : But, should any delay in that respect take place, there should be none in establishing custom-houses at many places on the coast; as the want of these, prevents at present every attempt at improvement. — The expence of such customhouses needs be small, as a single officer or two at a place, with very moderate salaries at first, might answer the purpose. The Reporter is not insensible of the abuse to which such an institution is liable;— but if these abuses are properly checked by Superiors, they may be kept within bounds, till more proper establishments can be made.

### PACKET-BOATS.

REGULAR packet-boats, as has been said, should also be established from all the principal islands to the shore, from whence they could communicate directly with Edinburgh, and with one another. The importance of this measure has been already fully illustrated.

## NARROW SEAS,

*To be declared Friths.*

THE prosperity of these countries, however, must in every case be much retarded, unless all those narrow seas between the islands and the main, shall be by law declared to be *friths*, and the same freedom of navigation given in them as in other friths. Small boats must be continually passing and repassing between these islands, with different articles of the native produce of the islands. While these are accounted open seas, such boats are liable to be seized, unless they have a customhouse clearance. Were customhouses as thick as the hamlets now are, the expence attending the fees of office would prove an oppressive burthen on the trade of these islands; but, in the way that customhouses must be placed, it would be impossible ever to obtain clearances for innumerable articles of small value, which must of course be either suffered to lie useless on the hands of the rearer, or be

R 2      smuggled



smuggled at a great risk. Corn, coals, wool, kelp, and almost every other article that can be named, come within that description. Till this measure, therefore, be adopted, the commerce, and consequently the agriculture and manufactures of all these small islands, must ever continue in such a languid state, as scarcely to deserve the name of existing. I cannot, therefore, cease to recommend this measure once more, as one of the most primary importance.

### BUOYS AND LAND-MARKS, LIGHT-HOUSES, &c.

To render the navigation of those seas safe and commodious, a more accurate survey of those coasts should be made, than any that at present are known; for, all the charts of those coasts are full of inaccuracies and errors, that tend to endanger the safety of any vessels that should attempt to sail by them. † Distinguishing land-marks should be erected at the entry into harbours, and other

† See Appendix, No. 10.

places that require to be noted by sea-faring people, that thus they might always know with certainty, at what part of the coast they were, whenever they should *make* the land; for, at present, many shipwrecks are occasioned by vessels mistaking one part of the coast for another, and thus steering an improper course, which might have been shunned, had they known the coasts with certainty. Buoys should also be placed on sunk rocks; by the help of which, vessels might safely enter into harbours, and go through narrow channels, without a pilot, which they dare not attempt at present; and in some places rings should be fixed, for enabling vessels to warp, or to be towed out or into a harbour when the wind is not altogether favourable for them; as, by the help of these, many vessels might be saved that are damaged or lost, and much time be gained that must now be lost in lying idly in harbours, to the great prejudice of the owners of ships that frequent those seas. In some places, light-houses should

should be erected, particularly on the Mull of Cantire, and on the point of the island Scalpa in Harris; which are so obviously wanted, that nothing but a total inattention to those places, could have permitted them to be neglected thus long. \*

If,

\* The Mull of Kinhouth or Kinhoa in Islay, has such a general resemblance to the Mull of Cantire, that vessels frequently mistake it for that of Cantire, and, by steering from thence a north-east course, get themselves embayed in Machrahanish-bay on the west coast of Cantire, from whence there is no possibility of escaping shipwreck, if the wind blows toward the shore; and thus many valuable vessels have been lost, and many useful hands have perished. Were a light-house there erected, it would serve not only as a distinguishing land-mark at all times, but it would also enable vessels to sail round the Mull of Cantire during the night-time with safety, instead of that hazardous navigation they must frequently attempt at present.—With regard to the point of Scalpa, it lies so low, and is so covered with high land behind it, that no vessel can make that point during the night, in any situation; and as every vessel must keep very close to it, to avoid the *Skirine* rock, that lies off it at the distance of three miles, in its present state, this navigation is so difficult that no vessel during the night-time dares attempt it; so that they are reduced to the necessity of either lying off and on all night,

which,

If, along with these useful works, experienced pilots should be established at either entry into some narrow Sounds that must ever be dangerous to strangers, such

which, in those narrow seas, subject to various currents, is extremely dangerous; or are obliged to run into a harbour, where they may be detained very long by contrary winds, that might have been favourable enough for carrying them forward, had they been able to proceed through that pass. But were a light-house there placed, it would not only serve to allow vessels to go with safety at all times of the night through that pass, but as it would be seen at a great distance on either hand, through all that long channel called the *Minch*, it would serve as a land-mark and sure guide during the night, to all vessels in that strait, so as to allow them to proceed in their voyage with confidence and safety, which they dare not attempt at present. When it is considered, that all vessels to or from the Clyde, must pass the Mull of Cantire, and that all vessels from Liverpool, and the west of England and Scotland, and the eastern ports of Ireland, to or from Holland and the Baltic, must pass through the *Minch*, it will appear not a little surprising, that these two necessary works should have been so long delayed. The additional insurance that must have been paid on vessels navigating those seas in consequence of that want, would probably have paid the expense of these light-houses a hundred times over, not to count on the value of the useful lives that have thus been lost.



such as the Sound of Harris, and some others, which pilots should be at all times ready to go off to any vessel at a signal made, as at Liverpool, &c. these Sounds would become safe and practicable, instead of being locked up, as they may be said to be at present. In some places also, where harbours are much wanted, but where Nature has not been altogether so bountiful as in others, the artificial aid of a pier might be necessary.—By these helps, which could all be effected for a very inconsiderable sum of money, the navigation of those seas, instead of being hazardous, would become much more safe and expeditious than that of any other known narrow seas whatever; not only because safe harbours are at all times to leeward, as has been already said; but also because of the currents, which, when fully known, could be so made use of, as to help a vessel forward with much greater ease and expedition than ever could be effected in narrow seas without them.

## PREVENTING IRREGULARITIES.

WHEN great quantities of herrings come into the bays, it often happens that several thousand boats are employed at one time in the same place, when the strongest are frequently tempted to commit trespasses, from the hope of escaping with impunity. To prevent the evils of this kind, which are now loudly complained of, certain persons should be appointed in each district, to act as Judges in all cases of this nature, and be vested with powers to carry their awards into effect,—a set of laws being compiled by which the Judges themselves should be regulated. An institution of this nature actually subsists. The Earl of Argyll was formerly empowered to act as Justiciary Bailie on that coast, to make regulations for the fisheries, with the consent of assessors chosen for that purpose; and to carry these into effect, by means either of himself or substitutes.—The office still subsists, but with diminished authority. Three of these Justiciary

ciary Bailies only are appointed for the whole coast, with salaries very inadequate to the duties of the office. Their number ought to be much enlarged:—their salaries rendered such as to induce the office to be sought after, by men of merit and knowledge, who could make the laws respected:—and a new set of regulations adopted for the regulation of this office, properly adapted to the present state of things.

### CARE OF HARBOURS.

In those distant regions, a solitary ship in a harbour, without any restraint upon the crew, are apt to commit great disorders; and in particular, very often throw out their ballast in the best part of the harbour, so as to choak it up, and render it useless. Several very fine harbours have been thus already rendered in a great measure useless (particularly Lewsa on the coast of Benbucula); and many more will be soon essentially hurt in the same manner, unless care is taken to guard against it in time. A law,

law, therefore, should be enacted, forbidding that trespass under very heavy pecuniary penalties:—the whole of such penalty should be given to the persons who bring a proof of the trespass being committed;—which proof, any of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace should be empowered to receive, and pronounce upon,—and his award to be final. Till some provision shall be made for a more easy mode of obtaining justice in those parts, this, and many other hurtful enormities, can never be effectually prevented.

### SUNDAY.

SUNDAY is, by our laws, very properly appointed to be kept by a cessation from labour; nor is there any difficulty in complying with this regulation, in the ordinary business of mankind; but a difficulty arises with regard to the application of this regulation, in the herring fishery. The operations are here carried on entirely during the night-time; and as the beginning of the night between Sunday and Monday, and the end of  
that



that between Saturday and Sunday, form, in strict propriety, each of them a part of the twenty-four hours appointed to be kept as a time of rest; it happens that these two nights are sometimes wholly lost, and sometimes entirely employed, according as the persons concerned are more or less rigorous in their principles in that respect. Hence disputes arise, that are hurtful and pernicious. To guard against these as much as possible, Parliament ought to prescribe a definitive rule to be observed in this case; and perhaps the following regulation might answer that purpose, *viz. That all nets shall be hauled before one o'clock on Sunday morning; and that no nets shall be wet before one o'clock on Monday morning.*

### BOUNTIES.

THOSE great and radical works already mentioned, which would lay the sure foundation of the future prosperity of those countries, being accomplished, it would then be time to think of other lesser subsidiary aids; which, tho' not of primary

primary importance, yet, under proper restrictions, might still be of very great utility, and might help to forward the great design. In this class bounties may be ranked;—with regard to which the Reporter does not find himself prepared to speak with that certainty he could wish; as he has not had an opportunity of examining all the cases to which these might apply. One observation, however, on this subject, is sufficiently obvious, viz. that as all sudden innovations are hurtful, and as the persons who have hitherto chiefly engaged in the fishery upon the bounty, live at a distance from the fishing ground, and would be greatly embarrassed were the bounty to be suddenly dropped—this subject should be very carefully weighed before any determination of that kind should be adopted, and measures previously concerted, to find, if possible, some beneficial employment to those people.

One thing more on this subject, the Reporter may be permitted to remark; which is, that the mode of fishing at present

present practised under influence of the bounty, appears to him in many respects improper, and does not answer what he imagines to have been the view of the Legislature when it was first granted. They send out large vessels, it is true; but these vessels do not fish *at sea*, but only enter into lochs and harbours, where they fish with small boats, and where the boats of the country-people, without any decked vessels to attend them, could fish at a much smaller expence than them. It is, indeed highly probable, that were the country-people freed from the restraints that the salt-laws impose upon them, and were the inconveniences they derive from a scattered society removed, they could catch herrings in these lochs at less than one-half the charge it ever can be done for by buffes. The reasons on which this opinion rests, might easily be produced; but it would be tedious to dwell upon them here†.

Experience shows, that herrings, tho' they are on the coast in abundance, do not in all cases enter the lochs and nar-

row

† See the following evidence,—Art. 4.

row inlets, nor observe any regularity when they do enter them, so that it often happens, that the buffes, tho' fitted out at a great expence, do not fall in with any body of fish, and are obliged to return empty. In that case, a number of men have been kept entirely idle for many months, at a very heavy charge both of wages and provisions to the owners, which tends greatly to diminish their profits, and to render their undertakings unprofitable. It is, however, a certain fact, that there never is a season in which there are not abundance of herrings in the sounds and narrow seas, among the islands, and along the coasts, which might very properly be caught there by decked vessels like the present buffes, were they to fish for them after the Dutch method, which they never at present attempt. Could they be induced to follow this mode of fishing, the Reporter is fully convinced, that it would turn out a much more ready, certain, and profitable mode of fishing for the buffes, than that which is

at



at present in use; and many intelligent fishers with whom he has conversed, are of the same opinion. For these reasons, he is persuaded it would be advisable, even if the proposed regulations should take place, not to withdraw the bounty from busses after the present bounty-law expires; though it deserves to be considered, whether it might not be prudent to confine it to such vessels only as should fish *in the sea*, after the Dutch method, and not in the lochs with boats, as at present.

It deserves also to be remarked, that should the regulations proposed for salt take place, and should towns be established along these coasts, as is expected, the owners of busses would be freed from many of those expensive regulations that cramp them now extremely, and diminish their profits in a surprising degree; so that with the same amount of bounty they would find their profits greatly increased, and be enabled in a short time to go on with vigour, without any public aid whatever. The reasons on which  
this

this opinion is founded, are pretty obvious; but it would take up too much time to enter on a detail of them here.

Another consideration requires to be here adverted to. By the present mode of fishing, those who engage in the herring-fishery, know nothing at all of the line-fishing; and, in like manner, those who carry on the *line-fishing*\*, are entire strangers to the herring-fishery. By this arrangement, the vessels and men employed in each kind of fishery, are unemployed for that part of the year during which it cannot be carried on, to the great detriment of all parties concerned. But as these two fishings succeed each other, the same vessels and hands could carry on both businesses with the greatest propriety and oeconomy, were the hands made acquainted with both kinds of fishing. This is actually done at present by a set of fishers from Rush, and

S. for the

\* Herrings are always caught in nets; cod, ling, tusk, and most other kinds of fish, are caught with hooks and lines, from whence arises the distinction in the text. See Appendix, No. 2.

some other places on the north of Ireland; who sometimes come to fish on our coasts. To induce our own fishermen to follow that business after the same mode, it is submitted, whether it might not be proper to grant a bounty only to such vessels as made it their business to follow both kinds of fishing throughout the whole year.

All the fishermen agree, that *wherry*-rigged vessels are the only proper ones for the line-fishery, as none other admit of being worked in the manner that is necessary. The late law, therefore, which prohibits the use of such vessels, certainly ought, on this account, as well as many others that might be named, to be altered, at least in so far as relates to fishing vessels. Wherry-rigged vessels would also answer perfectly well for the herring-fishery after the Dutch method: it deserves to be considered, whether the bounty should not be given to such vessels, in preference to others †. It is necessary

† See this subject more fully treated in the following evidence before the Committee of Fisheries.—Art. 4.

cessary here also to note, that on the west side of the island of Lewis, there appears each year a great shoal of dog-fish in the months of June, July, and August, which the natives at present fish for in open boats, and catch great numbers; of the livers of these fish, they make an excellent oil for lamps, of which they sell annually about eight hundred barrels. According to the opinion of experienced fishermen, were this business followed in decked vessels, which could remain at sea all night, during which time they are easiest taken, it might turn out a more valuable fishing than the northern whale-fishery. A small bounty on such vessels as engaged in this business, might be of use.

### D E B E N T U R E.

A DEBENTURE of two shillings and eightpence *per* barrel, is at present allowed on herrings exported. The same should be continued, and be extended to barrelled fish of every kind packed in barrels of the same size, and to half and



quarter barrels; but, to prevent fraud in this respect, it would be necessary to mark with a burning-iron, every barrel for which the debenture had been paid, with the letters D. B. at the customhouse where it was paid, and prohibit the re-landing of these, under very severe penalties: (and he submits it to the consideration of the Legislature, if it would not be prudent to allow the same on beef, pork, and butter.) The debenture of one shilling and sixpence *per* barrel of red herrings, and that of three shillings and fourpence *per* hundred weight of dried cod, ling, or hake, on exportation, should be continued, and the last extended to all other kinds of dried fish.

## D U T Y

### *On Internal Consumption.*

AT present, a duty of one shilling *per* barrel is paid for all herrings consumed in Scotland, and three shillings and fourpence on those consumed in England. Several kinds of fish are also prohibited from being entered for home-consumption.

tion. These duties should be abolished, and all restraints as to the internal sale of fish entirely removed.

### CURING OF HERRINGS.

As in consequence of the foregoing regulations, the quantity of fish caught in those seas would be very great, and could be afforded at a very low price; the only other circumstance necessary to ensure a ready sale would be, that they should be also of a superior quality to other fish that should meet them in foreign markets; and this could be effected in no other way, but by adopting a better mode of curing them than others. At present, the fishermen in Britain are defective in this respect. Their mode of curing fish is certainly not the best, and might admit of great improvements; though the Reporter does not think himself sufficiently instructed, so as to be able to point out effectual rules for that purpose: and were he better informed than he is on this head, he would be cautious how he advised regulating statutes in that

that case; for, he believes the fishermen themselves are better able to discover improvements in this respect, than any other person; and were the interest of individuals to be immediately promoted by such improvements as these individuals should make, he has no doubt but many very great improvements would soon be made. By the present law and practice, an individual, were he at ever so much pains, and as successful as he could wish in his superior mode of curing herrings, he would reap neither profit nor honour from his success; which is no doubt a great discouragement to industry, and gives rise to a general carelessness in the mode of curing, that would not otherwise have been introduced into practice. From these considerations, the Reporter is convinced, that were a mode devised, by which herrings and other fish could be traced on all occasions to the first hand directly, it would be a strong inducement to carefulness; because, in that case, a merchant from any quarter of the globe could write to his correspondent,

that,

that, out of any number of barrels, those marked so, or so, had been found of a very superior quality, and that those with such another mark had been very bad; the last, therefore, had been condemned as useless, whereas the first had sold at a very advanced price. This could not be easily done, if the herrings are obliged to be repacked as at present; for, in that repacking, they are so much bruised, as to counteract the attempts of the first curer; nor is it possible in any case to come at the first curer, if they have ever been sent to any foreign market. But, the Reporter is assured, that the best

## Dron-

• It is necessary here to explain what is meant by *dronging*.—By the present law, the person who repacks herrings, is authorised to give them three *drongs*, as it is called, during the time of packing. Practice thus explains the meaning of that word. After a few rows of fish are laid in the barrel, belly nearly uppermost, a board is laid over them, and the packer goes into the barrel, and jumps upon this board as long as he pleases; and this practice is thrice repeated during the packing each barrel. By this means, the fish are frequently totally disfigured, and rendered useless at market. Of this grievance the fishers complain, but



Drontheim herrings never are repacked, tho' they bring the highest price at every foreign market. If so, it would seem that repacking was not in all cases necessary.

Should this be found to be so, and should it be required by Law, that all herrings and other fish, (as also beef, pork, and butter,) that received the drawback of the salt-duty, should have the name of the original curer marked at length upon the barrel, together with the name of his place of residence, as is practised at present in Ireland with regard to beef; it might

but can have no redress. The pretext for thus crushing the herrings, is, that the buyers may be sure to have full barrels. It would be easy to obviate all disputes on that head, by declaring by law, that the fish in a barrel of cured herrings ought to weigh a certain weight, suppose two hundred weight as taken out of the pickle without rinsing, and that every buyer should be permitted to weigh every tenth barrel, if he chose it, taking them without selection as they came in rotation, and the whole stock to be accounted the same as this sample,—the seller to be obliged to make a deduction of price proportioned to what should be wanting, or to receive as much over as they should weigh more than the legal standard—the expence of opening to be born equally by the buyer and the seller.

might be attended with very good effects, as it would tend to raise or lower the price of that man's goods at market, should they be found to be uniformly good, or the reverse, in the same way as happens with regard to manufacturers of other kinds of goods.

### BARREL STAVES.

It was once enacted, that herring-barrels should be made of staves at least half-an-inch thick; but that law was afterwards repealed. They are now made so thin, as to be often crushed in the hold of a vessel, so as to allow the whole of the brine to be lost, which renders the herrings useless and unfit for any market. That law should therefore most certainly be renewed, and strictly enforced†.

### SIZE

† I am told, Drontheim herrings are always packed in barrels made of fir, which can be afforded at one shilling each, whereas oak barrels in Britain frequently cost five shillings. Enquiry should be made, if, upon a fair trial, such barrels would answer in Britain. White fir deal is found to be better for this purpose, than red fir wood. I am disposed, however, to believe, that new barrels of this kind

## SIZE OF BARRELS.

It deserves also to be remarked, that the Irish barrel of herrings contains only twenty-eight gallons, whereas the Scotch barrel contains thirty-two. And, however strange it may appear, yet the Reporter is on all hands assured, that the Irish barrels, on account of their compactness, or other circumstances, in all cases sell at an equal or superior price to the Scotch barrels, though the fish be the same; by which means, the Irish sell the same quantity of fish, of the same quality, fourteen and an-half *per cent.* dearer than the Scotch. In consequence of this, it is not an uncommon practice for the Irish to buy Scotch fish, pack them into

kind would in all cases communicate a resinous taste to the fish; but I have not a doubt but that *larix*-wood, which is known neither to shrink nor warp, would answer for staves equally well, or perhaps better than oak, and as no wood grows so quick, or thrives so well in our climate, it could in time be afforded as cheap as fir-wood. This is one reason among many, for rearing as many *larix*-trees in Scotland as possible.

Irish barrels, and send them to the West-Indies. In these circumstances, it would doubtless be necessary to reduce the Scotch herring-barrel by Law, to the same size with the Irish barrel, that they might come to market on equal terms at least in that respect. The same observation applies to the barrel of beef and pork, both which in Ireland contain only twenty-eight gallons, while the British barrel is thirty-two; and with regard to which, the very same complaints prevail\*.

### FOREIGN HERRINGS.

THE Reporter is likewise informed from very good authority, that it is a common practice in Ireland, to import great quantities of Dutch, Swedish, and Norwegian herrings, which are afterwards exported from thence to the British West-Indian islands; though he believes that foreign cured herrings are not by Law allowed to be sent by British

\* See a Memorial to the Lords of Treasury, by Lord Galloway and others, Appendix, No. 4.



fish subjects to those islands. If this be true, that practice ought no doubt to be stopped.

### EXACTIONS IN IRELAND.

ANOTHER grievance respecting Ireland, of which the British fishers most loudly complain, of the truth of which the Reporter had occasion to be fully informed in his late tour, is as follows: For some years past, herrings have cast up in greater quantities towards the latter part of the season, on the northern coasts of Ireland, than elsewhere, and the Scotch buffes went there to catch them. At first,

By an account of exports of herring from Gottenburgh (Appendix, No. 14). it appears, that, in the year 1776, no less than fifty-six thousand four hundred barrels of herrings were exported to Ireland. These herrings, I have been told, are there shifted into Irish or Scots barrels, and for the greatest part are exported as Scots or Irish herrings.

As all the Gottenburgh barrels are made of *fir*, which we would naturally imagine would give the fish a strong resinous taste; and as we hear no complaints of that nature against herrings exported from Ireland, it affords a presumption, that this peculiar taste is not so strong and nauseous as to be very perceptible.

first, they were permitted to fish without molestation; but, in winter 1782, some small fees were exacted by some of the customhouse officers, for granting them permission to fish. This became general in winter 1783: every bus was forced to pay two guineas for each boat she carried, for liberty to fish, besides paying duty for all the salt and barrels they had on board at the time, though they never were landed—as is more fully set forth in the Memorial referred to in the notes\*. And in the year 1784, they have been forcibly driven from the coast altogether, in consequence of an association of the inhabitants for that purpose, as they are informed; the particulars of which are set forth in another Memorial referred to in the notes†. All which exactions

\* A Memorial from the adventurers in the white-herring fishery, to the Right Honourable the Board of Trustees, 24th July 1783, in the hands of the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, Esq;

† A Memorial for the Magistrates and Burgh of Campbellton, for themselves, and in name of the adventurers  
in

exactions and outrages greatly prejudice their interest; and being contrary to law and justice, certainly claim the speedy attention of Government. He will only observe further on that head, that, for some years past, the conduct of the Board of Customs in Scotland with respect to the Irish fishers on our coast, has been such as could not give any reason for such conduct on the part of Ireland; as these fishers have not only been allowed to fish where they pleased on our coasts, but have even been allowed to draw the British debenture on fish caught and cured in those seas, in the same manner as if they had been natives of Britain †.

These

is the white-herring fishery, November 1784, sent to Sir Archibald Edmonstone, Bart.; also, an affidavit before the Bailies of Rothsay, in the hands of Mr Dundas.

† It is proper for me here to observe, that in the foregoing Report, I have confined my observations chiefly to those leading measures that seem indispensibly necessary for putting the countries in question into a train of progressive improvement: I have altogether omitted many smaller regulations, which would prove highly beneficial, were these leading measures adopted.

Of this

These are all the particulars that occur to the Reporter, as of material moment to be attended to, for establishing the fisheries on those coasts upon a sure and permanent foundation: But the following particulars, as strongly affecting the general prosperity of the country, ought also to be seriously attended to.

## W Q Q L.

THE western parts of the Highlands of Scotland, are for the most part extremely steep, rugged, and mountainous, (and the same may be said of many of the islands), forming dry healthy pasturage for sheep, and would afford a much greater profit to the owners if depastured with sheep, than with cattle. The islands likewise, which are at present possessed of a breed of sheep carry-

ing this nature I consider small premiums to be distributed annually to vessels of certain descriptions, within certain districts, that should prove most successful in the fishery each season.—The reader will find this matter fully treated in the Evidence given before the Committee of Fisheries, that follows this Report, Art. 4. to which he is referred.



ing finer wool than any in Europe, and which could be easily there preserved without debasement, or even improved so as to yield great quantities of wool, of a quality superior to any that is yet known, would, in many cases, yield a return, if stocked with such sheep, perhaps tenfold greater than if pastured with cattle. Yet, on account of the laws that, under the severest penalty, prohibit the carriage of wool by sea, but under regulations that cannot possibly be complied with in those countries, the natives have been in general hitherto obliged to rely upon cattle as their principal stock, and thus to forego one of the chief advantages that Nature had conferred upon them. Those fine-wool'd sheep are suffered to stroll about neglected, in small numbers, and no national benefit has yet been felt from the wool, though it might, if raised in sufficient quantities, lay the foundation of woollen manufactures of certain kinds, that would be unrivalled in other markets.—A manufacture of *shauls*, it has been

been already said, made of this wool, is just now in its infancy here, which may perhaps in time grow up to be an object of some importance; or other manufactures of a kind for which such fine wool is fitted, if the laws should be so framed as to admit of a reasonably free commerce in this article. At present, however, the natives, from never having been able to derive much advantage from that wool, scarcely know any-thing of its value in a commercial light. And, should they come to discover its value, if the present laws shall remain in force, there is reason to fear it may be converted to the benefit of rival nations, by improving *their* manufactures, rather than our own. For, as the risk is really smaller to smuggle wool at present to France or Holland, by means of the smuggling vessels which frequent those coasts with spirits, than it is to send it to any part of Scotland, it is natural to think, that they would embrace that as their surest and best market for this commodity. That foreigners, begin to

T

know

know the value of this wool, appears probable from the following story the Reporter heard in many places, on his late tour; viz. That some person in the islands, finding his wool at present in little request among themselves, had been tempted to try if it could be sold to advantage in France; and that it had far exceeded his expectation, as he had there received an anker of brandy (worth, at his own home, from fifty shillings to three pounds) for each stone of wool; and this at a time when the wool on the main-land (which is indeed of a much coarser quality, the produce of south-country sheep) could not be sold for more than four shillings, and even not at that price. This report, true or false, is current at present through all the islands, and will doubtless turn the attention of the people towards that market. Should this trade be permitted to get firm footing, it will be an evil of the first magnitude, that will not be easily eradicated. Would it not be wise policy to nip it in the bud, by a judicious alteration

ation of the laws respecting wool, which, on many other accounts, call out for amendment†? Great would be the advantages that would accrue to those regions from such alterations, as it would add much to the value of land in the *first* instance; and, in the *next* place, would permit the woollen manufacture to be established in those regions, so naturally adapted for that purpose, tho' it must be long ere it can there prosper under the restraints to which it is subjected at present‡.

## THE CORN-

† See X, Illustrations.

‡ When a smuggling trade in one capital article is once begun, it gives rise to many other branches of trade of the same kind, as lesser articles can be sent along with it, which never could have been sent by themselves; and others are, in like manner, brought by the return of the smuggling vessels. It is believed the smuggling of wool laid the foundation of all the smuggling trade now carried on in Britain; and as the prohibiting the exportation of wool has tended greatly to debase the quality of British wool, and to hurt our woollen manufactures very much, and has produced many other evil consequences, that law should certainly be altered or repealed.



## CORN-LAWS.

ALL those restrictive corn-laws, which tend to interrupt the free commerce of grain in *small quantities*, ought also to be altered. This would give ease and security to every small dealer in grain, which would encourage agriculture in the distant isles, that would naturally tend to ensure plenty and cheapness to the people.

## F A I R S.

THE Reporter finds he has omitted one article of importance towards the establishing a beginning commerce; that of instituting fairs, or periodical markets, at certain seasons of the year, in particular places. These, when considerable, answer in some measure the purpose of temporary towns; and, when once fully established on a liberal plan, prove highly beneficial to those places where large towns do not abound. It would therefore be proper to institute at least one great annual fair in each of the districts

above

above recommended: And, with a view to augment the traffic at that time as much as possible, it should be at these fairs that the distribution of boats, and other premiums that shall be thought necessary for encouraging the fisheries, should be made.

### CONCLUSION.

THUS hath the Reporter, with as much perspicuity as he was able, given the rude draught of a plan, which, if carried into effect, he is firmly persuaded, would lay the sure foundation of a lasting improvement to those countries, which never have hitherto been of any material advantage to the British Empire, tho' they are by Nature capable of becoming perhaps more valuable than any other province of the kingdom. His aim has been to discover and remove those *radical* defects that have hitherto retarded the progress of all improvement, and not to trouble your Lordships with a multiplicity of partial schemes, that tend only to exhaust the national treasure,

sure, without producing an adequate benefit. He has been particularly careful to avoid every thing that could lead to great national expence, not only from a persuasion, that, in the present state of the finances of this country, such frugal plans would have a better chance of being attended to, and carried into effect, than others that were more expensive; but also from a firm conviction, that, next to smuggling, nothing tends so much to discourage a spirit of sober industry among a people, as that of jobbing with public money, which never can be prevented where great national expence is incurred.—As he wishes that these regions, so remote from Court, may long continue the seat of active industry, he has therefore weighed every proposal with the most scrupulous care, with a view to guard against this evil; and has had the happiness to find, that he has been able to avoid it to a much greater degree than he himself imagined practicable, when he first reflected on the subject. Indeed he has been so successful

in

in this respect, that he is afraid, should ever these proposals come to be made public, they will be received with great coolness by many of those whose interests they are calculated most effectually to promote. Nor are they calculated, like brilliant proposals that announce expensive and glaring undertakings, to please the taste of the populace, who judge of the importance of any object merely by its show, and the parade with which it is introduced to their notice. He will be content if he can be in any measure instrumental in quietly diffusing general happiness among the people, and of thus adding to the wealth and general stability of the empire.

There are not wanting persons, who will say that his principal aim has been to encrease the revenue, rather than to promote the improvement of the countries he has visited: Nor can it be denied, that the benefits which Government will derive from these improvements, if carried into effect, would be at least equally great, and equally certain,



as the advantages that would result to all other parties concerned. But that must be a never failing consequence of adding to the prosperity of the people; for, wherever this takes place, the augmentation of the revenue is certain and unavoidable. This is the only true and unequivocal mode of augmenting the national revenue, with which the Reporter is acquainted. It is a mode, too, of imposing taxes, which, instead of occasioning a popular odium, must always produce the opposite effect: He cannot, therefore, help regretting, that it should have been hitherto so little attended to in all systems of finance. And it appears not a little surprising that it should not, when we consider how many striking instances are before our eyes, of the baneful effects resulting from an opposite plan of conduct.

The prosperity of that country, were the measures proposed adopted, the Reporter conceives, would be certain and unavoidable. The people, being freed from those restraints that at present

up their hands from the fisheries, would engage in them with alacrity, and with proportional success. Being placed within reach of giving and receiving mutual aid in all their enterprises, their exertions would acquire a vigour with which they are at present unacquainted. The articles essentially necessary for carrying on these fisheries being always within reach, so as to be ready when called for, would enable the poor to avail themselves fully of every fortunate occurrence that chanced to fall in their way; so that fish, in these circumstances, could be afforded in foreign markets at a very low price, and at the same time yield a reasonable profit to the persons concerned. Thus the demand would be increased, and employment afforded to additional numbers of people. The quantity of fish thus prepared for market, would induce plenty of merchants to settle in those towns, who would find a profitable employment in the commerce that this would furnish, and give at once an adequate price to the fisherman;

man, which would enable him to proceed in his business without embarrassment. A ready market would be provided for fresh provisions, and for all the produce of the fields. These would be taken from the farmer in any quantities, as soon as they were fit for the market, which would give all the encouragement to agriculture that can be wished for. Ships would be daily passing to and from Liverpool, and other parts, with rock-salt, coals, and other articles wanted for the daily use of a numerous, wealthy, and industrious people. In return for which would be sent, at a very moderate freight in comparison of what it now is, kelp, slate, fish fresh and cured, oil, bark, and other articles of the produce of those countries. To the West-Indies, the outward freight of fish would enable the merchants to import sugars and rum at a moderate freight, which would in time give rise to the refining of sugar. To the neutral islands in the West-Indies, their fish would be a welcome commodity, which would find their way into the

the French islands: In return for which, they would procure, by an advantageous barter, melasses, which could be there distilled for the African trade, with as great advantage as in Connecticut. To Spain, to Portugal, the Mediterranean, and the Levant, their fish, their marble, and manufactures, would afford them ready access, and the articles they would receive from these countries, with lead, and the other native products and manufactures, would lay the foundation of a trade to Holland and the Baltic.

Thus would employment be afforded to an innumerable multitude of people, the manufactures and trade of this country encreased to an astonishing degree, the quantity of shipping greatly augmented, the number of seamen multiplied, the general prosperity of the people promoted, the national wealth accumulated, and the revenue proportionally augmented, without the pressure being felt by any one.

Such are the general consequences, the Reporter is persuaded would result from the



the arrangements proposed, and such are the reasons that have induced him to adopt that opinion. He has stated these reasons with that warmth of colouring which is natural to one who is himself fully convinced of the truth of the facts on which he grounds his opinion, and of the certainty of the conclusions. He is sensible, that to those who have neither had access to examine the one, nor to weigh with attention the other, what he has said will appear to them somewhat extravagant. He wishes that other men of greater weight and influence than himself, would put themselves in a situation to prove the truth of the one, and attentively to consider the other,—as he has not a doubt, but that the more minutely these propositions shall be investigated, they will afford the greater satisfaction to the candid enquirer.

*Coats, near Edinburgh, }  
6th December, 1784. }*

## ILLUSTRATIONS

### OF THE

## FOREGOING REPORT.

### A.

*This refers to the Report, page 4th.*

**U**NLESS it be the Island of Arran, which is very mountainous, all the other islands are in general low grounds, for the most part pretty level, and capable of cultivation. The three hills called the Paps of Jura, are indeed high land; but these occupy only a small part of the island. The same may be said of Skye, in which there are two ridges of high mountains, with large tracts of flat land between. Mull and Rum are rugged and uneven; as is also the eastern part of Harris and Uist, though not extremely high

high land. On the north and east part of Islay, are some rugged hills of no great height; but this large island is for the most part low flat land, highly capable of culture. Tiree is one continued plain of fine arable land, two small hills excepted, and so low, that at a little distance these two hills appear like islands, the land between them being so flat as not to be seen. The west side of Barra, of Uist, and of Harris, and the whole of the islands lying between these, are low lands, exceedingly fertile, being one entire bed of shell-land †; and the same may be said of the north-west side of Lewis. Canney and Egg are not so low land, consisting

† These fields of shell-land, when well cultivated, and properly manured with sea-weed, yield returns of barley, that cannot, I believe, be equalled in any part of Europe; and, were I here to specify them, would not be credited. The crops of rye are also wonderfully luxuriant; and the same may be said of pease: Wheat has never that I know of, been tried on them, nor turnips, nor lucerne, nor sainfoin, though there is reason to think that all these crops could there be produced, in as great, probably greater perfection than in any other part of Europe.

consisting of several rows of basaltic columns above each other; but the soil there, is extremely fertile. \* Colonsay, Oransey,

\* The long chain of islands extending from Barra head to the Butt of the Lewis, which, when considered as an aggregate, has been denominated the *Long Island*, seems to have consisted originally of a chain of irregular rocks of granite jutting up from the surface of the sea, with a bold front towards the east, but shelving gradually to the western shore. During the course of many ages, that part of the rock which rose above the level of the sea, has become covered with a surface of mossy earth, of unequal depths, the prominent parts of the rock being still bare, and the hollow places filled up with moss, to a greater or smaller depth as circumstances have been more or less favourable for the accumulation of it. And as there seems to be few fissures in these rocks of granite, through which the water can percolate, the cavities where no shelving outlet appears, are filled with water, forming many small lakes among the mountains.

With regard to the western part of these islands, where the rock has probably extended to a great distance, shelving slowly downward beneath the surface of the water, there seems to have been accumulated above the rock, in the course of many ages, an extensive bed of shells, which being agitated by storms, have been pushed towards the shore, where they have been left in heaps, intermixed with tangles and other sea-weeds, above the ordinary level of the sea, and have been thus gradually formed into a bank,



Oransey, and Coll, are in general flat land, of a sandy soil, not so entirely shells,

bank, which has acquired an annual addition, so as to become in time a level plain of considerable extent along the whole coast. But as the water which flowed from the hills towards the west, when it came to the bottom of the declivity, would be interrupted by the bank of sand thrown up by the sea, it has been accumulated into a chain of shallow lakes, till it rose to such a height as to force a passage into the sea, through some of the weakest parts of the bank.

In conformity with this hypothesis, it is found, that at present the west coast of the island of South Uist, which I had a particular opportunity of examining, (and I was told the other islands in that chain were exactly in the same circumstances,) consists of a plain of shell-sand of unequal breadth, from about a quarter of a mile to half-a-mile, or perhaps three quarters, within which is a range of shallow fresh-water lochs that run along the whole length of the island, the surface of which is so little elevated above the level of the sea, that at high spring-tides the sea flows into these lochs, so as to render the water at times brackish. On the east of these lakes, no shell-sand is found; nor is any mossy earth found upon the west of them.

The rocks that have formed the grand chain on the east side, have been broke into irregular chasms, forming in some places narrow channels, that go quite thro' from east to west between the islands; and in other places,

shells, and therefore not so very fertile as some of the others. Lismore is a

U

low

places, only make deep indentments, which penetrate several miles within the land, passing the high part of the mountains, and widening within, in the lower part of the country, into capacious harbours, surrounded by level campaign lands of great extent. Three such harbours as are now described, are found in South Uist, viz. Loch-Boidale, Loch-Eynort, and Loch-Skiport. The first, where I happened to be wind-bound for several days, went so deep into the land as to approach within a very small distance of the chain of fresh-water lochs. It had not originally, however, any communication with these lochs; but Mr. Macdonald of Boidale, having observed that the outlet from these fresh-water lochs, which was formerly to the west, was frequently choked up by the sand, thought it would be for his advantage to open an outlet to the east sea, through this harbour. This he did by opening a ditch into it, of five or six feet deep; by which operation, he not only lowered the surface of the water in these lochs so much as to gain about nine hundred acres of land, but also established a communication by water, in boats, from the east sea, to almost every single farm on the island. These fresh-water lochs are nearer either of the other two harbours, than they are to Loch-Boidale. Indeed they come within about thirty yards of the head of Loch-Skiport, and are so near as to be marked in Mr. M'Kenzie's charts plate, as being entirely joined.

The

low island, the rocks entirely limestone, the soil fertile even to a proverb: perhaps

in

The Reader will perhaps pardon me for extending this note an uncommon length, as the subject is not a little curious and uncommon. In consequence of the outlet already mentioned, the former channel through which the water chiefly issued, is now dried up; and a place at the mouth of that channel, where, thirty years ago, a considerable salmon fishery was carried on, is now dry land, and is near a quarter of a mile distant from the nearest shore, which shows how much the land has gained in that time.

It deserves also to be remarked, that as the shell-sands are heaped up along the shore into hillocks, which are broke into steep banks, as is usual with dry sand-hills, the wind acting upon these, blows the sand about irregularly, which covers the adjacent ground, and gradually fills up the neighbouring lochs, so that in a short time they will probably entirely disappear; and unless care be taken to preserve, by artificial means, the communication by water for boats, that conveniency will be entirely lost. Nothing would be more easy than to prevent the blowing of the sand there, nor could any undertaking turn out half so advantageous to the proprietor.

A notion prevails among the people in those islands, that the sea makes continual encroachments on the west coast, and recedes from the east. The facts already mentioned, sufficiently refute that opinion, as the naked rocks on the eastern coast, washed by the sea, sufficiently prove that they

[A.]

## Foregoing Report.

141

in this respect it is exceeded by few places in Europe.

U 2

THE

they receive no addition.—One fact was stated to me, with a view to prove that the sea has gained on the land by a gradual encroachment on the west coast, viz. That on the west of South Vist, at low spring-tides, when the sea is smooth, something like the walls of houses are seen a great depth below the surface, a considerable way from the shore; from whence the people conclude, that this has been formerly dry land, and that all between it and the shore has been gradually washed away by the encroachments of the sea.—That this last could not be the case, is plain; seeing, if it ever had been dry land, and these houses inhabited, it must then have been above the level of the surface of the sea, and must have remained so as long as the foundation continued unaltered. It never could have come into its present situation but by an earthquake, or some such shock, that had suddenly lowered the base on which it stood, and not by the gradual encroachments of the sea, as they suppose. I conceive, that what they take to be walls, may be some natural *dikes* of whinstone, like those that are seen on the west coast of Islay, rising to a great height above the surface of the sea, tho' not above three or four feet in thickness, and quite perpendicular.

The east part of Lewis, from Stornoway northward, is flat land; but I had no opportunity of examining it narrowly. I saw no stone but granite in the Long-Island south of Stornoway, where plumb-pudding stone abounds.

The



## B.

*See Report, page 4th.*

THE prevailing winds during the summer months in Scotland, are from the south-west; and as these winds on the west coast come from the Atlantic Ocean, they are much impregnated with moisture. Hence it happens, that, being interrupted by the high lands on the west of Scotland, the clouds there break, and pour down great torrents of rain, especially

The celebrated island of Staffa, consists of one stack of basaltic columns, browened with a capital of plumb-pudding stone, surmounted with a smooth stratum of fertile earth, producing a close pile of grass. The neighbouring shores of Mull, and the adjacent islands, contain also a great variety of basaltic columns of an imperfect kind. In Cannay, the basaltic columns rise above each other to a great height, in many successive ranges, each separated from the other by a stratum of plumb-pudding stone, as at Staffa. In walking along the eastern shore of that singular island (Cannay) at low-water spring-tide, the top of an immense number of these basaltic columns, of a very large size, and surprisingly regular, were left quite bare, forming a giants causeway of very large extent, which had a surface nearly as smooth as an ordinary-paved street. In some places, however,

ally during the latter part of summer and autumn. From these causes, the climate is there extremely unfavourable for corn crops, as the continued rains not only retard its ripening, but render the winning of the crop extremely precarious. These inconveniences, however, are not experienced in the islands in the same degree; for, as they are in general low, the winds pass over them without any interruption to break the clouds, in so much that in the lowest of these islands, the soil of which for the most part consists of shelly sand, there is usually rather less rain in summer than the inhabitants

however, large and deep chasms were formed in it, by the breaking down of some of these contiguous columns, in the same manner as the cavern at Staffa has been produced. In these chasms no bottom can be perceived; and the sea rushing through them with vast impetuosity, even when smooth, forms a scene stupendously great, and dreadful to behold.

Though I did not visit the island of Egg, I was told that the same kind of columns on the north part of that island especially, are very large and regular; and that there is a cavern of much greater magnitude and magnificence, than that which has been so justly celebrated in the island of Staffa.

inhabitants wish for ; and the harvest is far earlier than on the continent, and not at all precarious. In Islay, which has more rain than some of the other islands, the harvest is usually got in before the end of September, which is earlier than in East-Lothian, the best corn-county in Scotland ; and Tiree, Barra, Uist, &c. are at least equally early.

Among the western islands, where the soil is not shell-sand, the surface is for the most part covered with a stratum of mossy earth of different depths, which, in its natural state, produces nothing but heath ; but if that mossy soil be manured with shelly sand, it is at once rendered capable of producing very fine crops of grain ; and when it is afterwards laid into grass, it becomes covered with a fine sward, consisting chiefly of white clover and the poa-grasses ; so that this improved soil may be used indifferently ever afterwards, either for corn or pasture : Even the hills, that do not admit of cultivation, if a good coat of that manure be spread upon them, lose the heath that  
covered

covered their surface, and obtain a fine pile of these delicate grasses, which continue ever afterwards. It must therefore be accounted a singular blessing to those countries, that this valuable manure abounds so much as to yield inexhaustible quantities of it; so that on this account, no bounds can be set to the improvement of those countries.

No person, I imagine, can at present form an idea of the degree of improvement that those islands could admit of, as they have hitherto been so entirely neglected, that, unless it be in the island ofIslay alone, which has been for a few years past under the care of a judicious proprietor, who has studied to augment his own revenue by promoting the prosperity of his people, there is scarce another spot beyond the Mull of Cantire, that seems to have begun to be improved, but in regard to the single article of kelp alone. \* The rapid progress in

the

\* Except a small part of South Uist, under Mr. Macdonald of Boisdale's management, where something has also been done, and perhaps some others I had not an opportunity of seeing.



the beginning exertions of the people of Ilray, affords the most pleasing prospect of the improvement which these countries may be made to receive, if ever they should come to be attended to.

About twelve years ago, Ilray was nearly in the same situation with most of the other islands in the Hebrides. It had no roads on which carriages could be drawn, no bridges, no public work of any kind: its population amounted nearly to seven thousand souls,—its annual imports of grain to three or four thousand bolls: its inhabitants were, like those of the other islands, discontented with their situation: emigrations had begun among them, and threatened to extend very far. The war put a stop for a time, to these emigrations: the present proprietor succeeded to the estate: it now contains ten thousand inhabitants: it exports (instead of importing) annually, near five thousand bolls of grain: above thirty miles of excellent roads are already formed: a great number of useful bridges are erected: an excellent pier has been

[B.]

*Foregoing Report.*

147

been built: a town is begun, which receive annually a considerable increase of inhabitants: markets are opened for the produce of the ground: the people are pleased with their situation, and industrious: large tracts of barren ground are annually brought into culture; and there is every reason to believe, that if the same mode of management shall be pursued, the inhabitants will continue to increase as fast as they have done within this last period; and that the quantity of grain they will be able to export, will increase in a much more rapid progression. Besides grain, (this island for some years past, has exported annually, about three thousand six hundred head of cattle, between three and four hundred horses, and about thirty-six thousand spindles of yarn, all of their own produce and manufacture. I am well pleased to mark its *present* state, that future observers may be able to point out its subsequent changes.

In

C.

See Report, page 6th.

In Islay, some native quick-silver has been several times found in the bottom of little pools, formed in small rills of running water; but no discovery has been made from whence it came, nor has any *native cinnabar* been yet found in that country.—In the same island was also of late accidentally found, some pieces of the mineral called black lead, of a singularly-fine quality, as it both cut smooth and firm, so as to receive and preserve a fine point for a long time, and possessed a small degree of elasticity, somewhat like horn, which made it much less liable to break than the common mineral of that name. Unfortunately these were only found in loose pieces; and no symptoms have been discovered, that tend to point out where the mass lies from which this had been detached.—On the estate of Mr Macdonald of Glengary, in the west coast of Scotland, has been discovered, much greater quantities

[D.]

*Foregoing Report.*

149

ties of the same mineral; but it is also of a much coarser quality. Neither has the mine here been ever yet opened.

D.

*See Report, page 7th.*

WERE a coal attempted to be worked in the Hebrides at present, the undertaker must inevitably be ruined, unless it were of a very superior quality indeed: for, as the internal demand to supply the wants of the neighbourhood must be very small, dependence for sale could only be had on that part which should be transported by sea. But, to what market could the coals be carried? The coasting-duty puts a stop to its being carried to any of the large towns in Scotland, where they would interfere with other coals that could be afforded free of duty; and if they were to be carried to Ireland, they would be underfold by the coal from Whitehaven†. The only market

† Where they can frequently have occasion to obtain a return-freight, which they could not to the Hebrides.



market that remains, is the *Hebrides* alone: but, in the circumstances the people are at present, however much they might be in want of fuel, the demand must be extremely small indeed: For, as the people live in detached hamlets, each individual family would be under the necessity of ordering a separate quantity for itself.—But when it is considered how few families in these parts can afford to buy a whole ship-load at once, it will be easy to see that the number of cargoes wanted in a year would be very small. The poor people, who could perhaps afford to pay for no more than half-a-ton or a ton at a time, must be contented to do the best they can without them.—However numerous, therefore, these people may be, and however great the consumption they would occasion in other circumstances; in their present situation, they could not be accounted anything at all. Thus must they forego this benefit, with many others of which they are in the same manner deprived.

E.

*See Report, page 9th.*

It is not much above thirty years, since Mr. Macdonald of Boisdale in Uist, brought some men from Ireland, for the first time, to teach the natives of Uist how to manufacture sea-weed into kelp. The profits he reaped from this manufacture, induced others to follow his example, and it soon became an object of great importance along all these coasts. The late war, by interrupting the trade for Barilla, raised the price of kelp so high, as gave an additional spur to their industry, and made them exert all their power to discover new means of augmenting its quantity. Mr. Macdonald of Boisdale, son to the Gentleman who introduced the manufacture, still keeps the lead as the most spirited and successful operator in that branch. By tumbling rocks into the sea, where none were before, he has much increased the quantity of sea-weed produced on his shores: He has also discovered, that kelp can be made with

with profit from the common tangles (alga-marinae) that are often thrown up on the shore in amazing quantities\*. In short, every sea-plant he finds may be profitably employed for that purpose; but the sea-grass (sweet-grass as it is sometimes called) yields a kelp of a quality much superior to any other: He therefore carefully uses for that purpose, all that he can get of this plant,—a plant which has hitherto been deemed in a great measure useless; for it cannot be employed profitably as a manure, and is therefore suffered to lie unused, in amazing heaps, on almost every shore where it is produced; particularly on the north coast of Ireland, where it is entirely neglected.

\* As these sea-weeds are thrown upon the coast in greatest abundance during the winter months, when it is difficult to get them dried so as to burn, he finds it of use to cut off the long leaves, and the most succulent parts that are so liable to putrify. These he employs as a manure; but the large strong stalks he piles up in small stacks like haystacks, laying them across and across each other: they are thus kept so open as to let the air pass through them, and thus to dry them sufficiently to admit of being burnt slowly for kelp.

glected. This is one instance out of many, that the people in the Hebrides are neither blind to their interest, nor defective in point of industry, where that industry can be exerted for their own benefit.

F.

*See Report, page 10th.*

THE abundance of fish of different kinds mentioned in the text, that swarm upon the west coast, is very great; but the proportion they bear to those found in any other coast, has never been ascertained with any degree of accuracy, and therefore can only be guessed at from incidental circumstances that I picked up on my tour.

As there are no great towns on those coasts which could furnish a ready market for fresh fish, no men follow that employment as a business. The people on the coast only go out from time to time to catch as many as serves their own families when they want them. They are, therefore, extremely inexperienced fishermen, and can give no rule  
for



with profit from the common tangles (alga-marinae) that are often thrown upon the shore in amazing quantities\*. In short, every sea-plant he finds may be profitably employed for that purpose; but the sea-grass (sweet-grass as it is sometimes called) yields a kelp of a quality much superior to any other: He therefore carefully uses for that purpose, all that he can get of this plant,—a plant which has hitherto been deemed in a great measure useless; for it cannot be employed profitably as a manure, and is therefore suffered to lie unused, in amazing heaps, on almost every shore where it is produced; particularly on the north coast of Ireland, where it is entirely neglected.

\* As these sea-weeds are thrown upon the coast in greatest abundance during the winter months, when it is difficult to get them dried so as to burn, he finds it of use to cut off the long leaves, and the most succulent parts that are so liable to putrify. These he employs as a manure; but the large strong stalks he piles up in small stacks like haystacks, laying them across and across each other: they are thus kept so open as to let the air pass through them, and thus to dry them sufficiently to admit of being burnt slowly for kelp.

glected. This is one instance out of many, that the people in the Hebrides are neither blind to their interest, nor defective in point of industry, where that industry can be exerted for their own benefit.

## F.

*See Report, page 10th.*

THE abundance of fish of different kinds mentioned in the text, that swarm upon the west coast, is very great; but the proportion they bear to those found in any other coast, has never been ascertained with any degree of accuracy, and therefore can only be guessed at from incidental circumstances that I picked up on my tour.

As there are no great towns on those coasts which could furnish a ready market for fresh fish, no men follow that employment as a business. The people on the coast only go out from time to time to catch as many as serves their own families when they want them. They are, therefore, extremely inexperienced fishermen, and can give no rule  
for

for judging of what may be the success of skilful fishers on the same seas; but even in that manner, they in almost all cases very soon catch as many as they have occasion for.

In the mouth of the Clyde, off the Island of Arran, the natives sometimes try to fish to supply the Glasgow market; but to them this is only a poor business. Some fishermen, however, who came accidentally from Nairn on the east coast of Scotland, in the same seas always catch abundance of fish, even when the Arran-people scarce find any. These Nairn-fishers make rich, and every year carry home a great deal of money to their families.

One of these east-country fishers was engaged by Mr. Campbell ofIslay, to stay with him. On conversing with him, he gave me accounts of the quantities of fish he caught, that appeared altogether incredible. For one article, he assured me, that when he baited his long line for the smaller flat fish, which line contains four hundred hooks, it was not

at

at all an uncommon thing for him to take in at one haul, three hundred and fifty fish from the four hundred hooks; these consist of turbot, foal, and large fine flounders, about two or three pounds weight each. As to skate and holobat, he said he seldom fished for them, as they are not a saleable article there; but he could easily fill his boat with them, when he chose it, at one haul of his lines,—sometimes he could fill it three times; and from the accounts of other people, I had no reason to doubt the man's veracity.

With regard to the cod and ling-fishery, few of the banks are as yet known sufficiently to enable any-one to speak with precision; and fewer still of these banks are properly cleared of ground-fish, to let their value be fully known. It is observed, that when a fishing-bank is first discovered, few cod or ling are caught on it, till the skate and eels, and star-fish, which are there called ground-fish, are cleared from it. They must therefore begin by catching these; and it is only after that is done, that the value of



the bank can be known. Only a very few banks have thus been cleared as yet; and those who attempt to fish on other banks, tho' perhaps much better than these, are less successful. From this cause, vessels often fail in this fishery that make new trials. I found, however, that in many places, especially where the tides are rapid, and where the cod are best, and always in season, it was no uncommon thing for a man to catch from two to three dozen large cod, from ten to twenty pounds weight, in little more than an hour, during the turn of the tide. From these slight notices, some idea may be formed of what the fishing *might* be, if properly followed.

G.

*See Report, page 12th.*

THE quantity of herrings that sometimes come in one body, is so great as to exceed belief by those who have never heard of them. The following, however, are a few facts relating to this subject, that were stated to me by a man of character,

character, to whom I applied for an answer in writing to some queries on this subject I put to him: similar accounts I received from every individual in those parts, with whom I conversed.

'In the year 1773, (he says), the herrings swam so thick in Loch-Terridon, that the boats of about two hundred and fifty buffes, all having two, and many three, together with an immense number of country boats, from twelve to twenty barrels burthen, were often twice loaded in a night, and frequently they were obliged to cut the *taves* (cords by which the nets are kept together) of their nets, leave part of them in the water, and carry the rest on shore to be emptied, being so loaded that they could not carry the whole at one time. They continued there for two months.'

To give some definite notion of the quantity of fish mentioned above, let us suppose the two hundred and fifty buffes and on an average two boats and a-half; this gives 625 boats: suppose 200 coun-

try-boats; this makes, in all, 825 boats. These, if twice loaded in a night, would be 1650 boat-loads; which, reckoned at no more than twelve barrels each boat-load, would give 19,800 barrels of herrings as the usual fishing for one night only.

If four men be allowed to each boat this fishing would furnish employment to two thousand three hundred fishermen; women and others employed in gutting and curing, more than an equal number: so that it would give business to between five and six thousand persons. My correspondent thus proceeds:

'At Loch-Carron, a year or two after, they were so throng, that the loch from the narrow entry above a league long, and in some places above a mile broad, and from sixty to four fathoms deep, it was indifferent to the fishers in what part of it to shoot their nets, or what buoy string they gave them; that is, whether their nets were near the ground or surface, they were equally sure to have the

‘ them loaded. They continued in this  
‘ bay, and the neighbourhood of it, about  
‘ five weeks.

‘ On the west side of Skye, I am in-  
‘ formed, they once swarmed so thick  
‘ in Caroy-loch, that shooting night and  
‘ day were alike to them; (observe that  
‘ shooting nets for herrings in the day-  
‘ time, drives them away, and is contrary  
‘ to law). Some of the fishers kept their  
‘ nets continually in the water; and if  
‘ any had his nets drying on their quarter,  
‘ and that a skirt of any of them should  
‘ happen to be in the water, it was in-  
‘ stantly filled with fish. So many were  
‘ caught, that they could not be carried  
‘ off; and after the busses were loaded,  
‘ and the country round was served,  
‘ the neighbouring farmers made them  
‘ up into composts, and manured their  
‘ ground with them the ensuing season.  
‘ This shoal continued many years upon  
‘ the coast, but they were not in every  
‘ year, nor in every bay, so thick as  
‘ in this last; but were for a number  
‘ of years so much so, that all the busses  
‘ made



‘ made cargoes, and the whole coasts were  
‘ abundantly served.

‘ At Loch-Slapan, one of the Skye bays,  
‘ in winter 1764 or 1765, I do not re-  
‘ collect which, there were above three  
‘ hundred, I believe four hundred vessels  
‘ loaded, the average twenty last each [a  
‘ last is twelve barrels]. Some of them  
‘ made two cargoes, and an incredible  
‘ number of country-boats, [four hundred  
‘ vessels at twenty lasts each, is ninety-  
‘ six thousand barrels].

‘ At Loch-Urn, in 1767 or 1768, they  
‘ came in in such quantity, that, from  
‘ the narrows to the very head [about  
‘ two miles] it was quite full: such a  
‘ quantity ran on shore, that the beach,  
‘ for four miles round the head, was  
‘ covered with them from six to eigh-  
‘ teen inches deep; and the ground un-  
‘ der water, so far as it could be seen  
‘ at low water, was equally so. I believe  
‘ the whole bay, from the narrow to the  
‘ mouth [about twelve miles long, and  
‘ a league broad] was full of them. I am  
‘ also of opinion, that the strongest fish  
‘ being

‘being without, in forcing their way  
‘into the inner bay, drove the lightest  
‘and weakest on shore. So thick were  
‘these last, that they carried before them  
‘every other kind of fish they met,—  
‘even ground-fish, skate, flounders, &c.  
‘and perished together. They continued  
‘at that time several weeks, but not so  
‘thick after they had run on shore.

‘At Loch-Urn, also in 1783, came in  
‘a shoal of them, corresponding in most  
‘particulars with this last mentioned;  
‘and a like, if not a greater quantity of  
‘them ran on shore; but the bulk of  
‘the live herrings retired soon after  
‘this happened, though they left such  
‘a quantity behind as to make a good  
‘fishing for several weeks. I cannot  
‘ascertain the quantity taken,—it was  
‘amazingly great. *And I will venture to*  
‘*affirm, that though there had been ten*  
‘*times the number of vessels and boats in*  
‘*each of the bays I mentioned, they would*  
‘*have made full cargoes.*

These are a few out of many examples  
of the same kind that might be pro-  
duced,

duced, and serve to show what immense quantities of fish might be killed, if the people had stores of salt and cask in the neighbourhood, so as to permit them to continue busily at the fishing while it lasted. At present, whenever a burs has compleated her cargo, she must abandon the fishing entirely; and none of her hands could return to it again in less than eight or ten weeks, before which time, the people of the burs might have caught perhaps twenty loadings, had they been permitted to remain. At present, the country-people who can remain at the fishing, are busy or idle just as they have much salt. When a smuggling boat arrives with salt, they will get perhaps six shillings *per* barrel for their herrings: as that salt is expended, the price falls to five, four, three, two, one shilling *per* barrel, sometimes to sixpence or eightpence; below which price they will seldom shoot their nets, as that price is not sufficient to indemnify them for their trouble in catching them. But it sometimes happens, that you may purchase

purchase a barrel of fine fresh herrings for a single chew of tobacco. A barrel contains from six to sixteen hundred herrings, according to their size.

## H.

*See Report, page 21st.*

THE inhabitants of the Hebrides may at present be divided into three classes: 1<sup>st</sup>, Proprietors of land:—2<sup>d</sup>, Principal tenants, or tacksmen of large districts:—3<sup>d</sup>, The lower class of people.

With regard to the proprietors, their number is very small in proportion to that of the other classes, as the property of almost the whole district is swallowed up by ten or twelve men of overgrown fortunes, most of whom know little about the situation of their estates, and scarcely ever set foot upon them. In their stead, a set of men called factors are substituted, with very extensive powers, which sometimes are exerted in favour of the rights of humanity, and the interest of the proprietor; but are more frequently employed to

base



baser purposes, as must necessarily happen in the common run of human affairs.

The class of tacksmen occupy nearly the same rank in the Hebrides, as belongs to that of men of landed property in other parts of Britain. They are called Gentlemen, and appear as such; and obtain a title from the farm they hold, nearly in the same manner as gentlemen in other parts of the country obtain from their estates. Most of these tacksmen are in fact descended from a line of ancestors as ancient and honourable as the proprietors themselves, and therefore reckon themselves equally entitled with them to the appellation of gentlemen. These tacksmen were for the most part, originally younger sons of the proprietor himself, and obtained from their father leases of considerable tracts of ground at a moderate rent, which was bestowed upon them in lieu of a patrimony: The descendants of these have therefore, in general, been accounted as relations of the family of the proprietor, and were treated with a mildness that

that made them consider their leases rather as a sort of property, subjected to a moderate quit-rent to their superior, than as a fair and full rent for land in Scotland. In the absence of the proprietor, these persons acquired a weight and influence in the country, which was very great; so that the proprietor, if he had been so disposed, would have found it a very difficult matter to crush them; and as they found always means to bring the factor to favour their interests, they have been able to continue their sway till the present moment, after most other vestiges of the feudal power have fallen into disrepute.—These are the men who in general, together with the factors, keep the lower classes of the people in the subjection above taken notice of.

Upon enquiry, I found that most of the principal tacksmen in those districts, have come into the practice of keeping a kind of store or warehouse of necessaries for the use of his immediate dependents; and that the usual and avowed rate of profit, which they think reflects no discredit

credit upon them to exact, is about fifty *per cent.* and on grain and other articles considerably higher. Last season, oatmeal sold at Greenock for about sixteen shillings *per* boll; in many places of the Hebrides it was about twenty-four, in some places I was told twenty-eight shillings; and this, I was informed, is not beyond the usual proportion. Some men, as must be expected in all cases where the people are entirely under the power of an individual, exact much more than others. An abatement in the price of what articles the people have to dispose of, at least equal to that, must be in general made; so that the situation of the *poor* people is truly deplorable.

Nor are these store-keepers so much to be blamed, as men would in general be disposed to do, on first viewing the matter. The expence they must be at in procuring the articles for sale, must be uncommonly great; their sales are languid, credits long, and payments precarious. In these circumstances, very great *apparent* profits must be obtained, before

a reasonable profit *per annum* on the stock thus employed can be got. A man who turns his money three times a-year, and receives no more than five *per cent.* profit on each sale, really gains more than another who turns his money only once in three years, tho' he gains forty-five *per cent.* profit on each sale. These store-keepers, therefore, are under a necessity of obtaining very great profits on the sale, or be losers by their trade: it is therefore the circumstances of the country that occasions this misery, rather than the avarice of individuals; and all parties would be gainers, were these circumstances properly altered: nor can the evil here complained of, be in any other way effectually removed. \*

## I.

*See Report, page 25th.*

THE following case may serve as an example and illustration of what is said in

\* See this subject more fully explained in the Evidence given before the Committee of Parliament, that follows this Report, towards the beginning of it.



in the text.—About a dozen or fifteen years ago, a gentleman, a principal proprietor in the Highlands, who intended to keep a flock of sheep on his own account, sent for some persons of skill in the rearing of sheep, to go through his estate, and choose a proper place for a sheep-farm. They made choice of one district, which they thought very proper for the purpose, and which was of such extent as to be capable of keeping, according to their judgment, *five thousand* head of sheep, throughout the whole year. Upon enquiry it was found, that this single farm was occupied by thirty-two tenants, who paid to the proprietor L. 31 : 10s. These thirty-two families consisted on an average, of six persons each, in all one hundred and ninety-two persons, whose business could all have been performed by little more than the shepherd and his dog, with occasional assistance at times. Few parts of the Highlands are overstocked with people to an equal degree as in this example; but there is no doubt that one-tenth part of the present inhabitants

[K.]

*Foregoing Report.*

169

bitants would be sufficient to perform all the operations there, were their industry properly exerted.

K.

*See Report, page 33d.*

THE example adduced in the Report, is one striking proof of the utility, the necessity even, of establishing towns, and of thus opening a ready market for all commodities, in order to excite the industry of the people of any community. Were the poor people who now live in the Hebrides scattered in detached hamlets, brought together into one close community, it would not only be in the power of the tenants in the neighbouring isles to send their produce to that market, where every individual could, without trouble to himself, or inconvenience to the seller, purchase the quantity he wanted, however small it might be; but, should the supply thus obtained prove too scanty, so as to occasion prices to rise above the average rate of the surrounding markets, merchants from Liverpool,

pool, Bristol, Clyde, or elsewhere, could easily supply the deficiency, which they cannot attempt at present. Thus would the inhabitants be insured of always obtaining grain and other necessities at the ordinary market price, instead of paying the exorbitant rates they now are loaded with. The farmer would be certain of a ready market for all his produce, and therefore would be at liberty to exert his industry to the utmost; and every other article, the produce of labour, would find a market equally certain, which would give a similar spur to every other species of industry.

L.

*See Report, page 37th.*

The following is an account of the steps necessary to be observed by the importers of salt for the curing of fish, which I received in writing from an experienced busi- owner, with the expences attending these transactions.

“ WHEN a cargo of foreign salt is imported, a regular entry of it must be made

[L.]

*Foregoing Report.*

191

made at the customhouse, and a duty paid down, of about twopence half penny, or twopence three farthings per bushel—(This is the duty of *customs*). A bond must then be granted (for the *excise*-duty, being ten shillings per bushel,) with surety, as mentioned in the Report, (and the same must be understood of all customhouse bonds), for which is paid seven shillings and sixpence. Fees for report, entry, and water-side officers, on a cargo, will amount to about two guineas, often more. If any of this salt is to be sent to any other port, a warrant must be obtained from the customhouse to ship that quantity; and after shipping, a *coast-bond* must be granted, obliging themselves to land it at the port intended: This bond, with other fees, costs about fifteen shillings. On the salt arriving at the port where cleared out for, it must be reported, entered, and again bonded, at the expence of fifteen shillings more: And after being landed, and perhaps sold to some other fish-er, there must be an entry made

Y

in



in a transfer-book kept in the custom-house; and the purchaser, on getting the salt into his custody, must again bond it at the expence of seven shillings and sixpence more, before he can clear it out and ship it. If he should carry it to any other port, he must bond it there also, as well as grant another coast-bond: And thus, as often as it is removed, two bonds must be granted; and as often as any part of it is sold without being removed, another bond must be granted.

“ If a buss owner or fish-curer intends to ship salt for the fishing, he must have a sufferance to ship it, and then gets a cocquet, which costs him about three shillings and sixpence. If used on fish, and these fish are exported, he pays about twopence a barrel fees; and if not used, he pays only the fees attending the outfit of a buss, and her return, which come nearly to two pounds five shillings, exclusive of the bonds. When the buss-owners get rid of their herrings at the end of the season, they settle their salt-account with every customhouse they had occasion

occasion to enter salt or fish at, whether outwards or inwards. If a balance of salt remains on hand for that season, it must be produced at the customhouse, entered there afresh, and must be again bonded before the 5th of April annually, under the penalty of twenty shillings per bushel, and seven shillings and sixpence paid for the bond, as well as seven shillings and sixpence, ten shillings and sixpence, and sometimes as high as twenty-one shillings, for settling the old account—sometimes thirty-one shillings and sixpence paid.

“In this manner, these bonds still hang over the fish-curer's head; and if the same salt should be kept on hand for twenty years or more, one new bond at least must be granted for it each year, and if removed twenty times in that year, forty bonds must be granted for it, at the expence of seven shillings and sixpence each, even altho' not one bushel of it should be either sold or used during all that time. If, on the other hand, a cargo of salt should be landed and bonded by one man, and sold again in

twenty small parcels to twenty other fish-  
curers, each purchaser of ever so small a  
quantity, must grant a new bond for the  
quantity he purchases; and if he removes  
it to another port, must also grant a coast-  
bond, &c. as before mentioned; all these  
bonds seven shillings and sixpence each;  
—coast clearances, three shillings and six-  
pence each; —land-waiters fees, and other  
expences, from three to four shillings; —  
and expences on settling his salt-account,  
from ten to thirty shillings annually, as  
above stated; not to mention his own  
expences, together with the expence of  
carrying the balance of his salt to the  
customhouse, &c. &c.

“If a vessel containing salt is lost at sea,  
or at the fishing, proof must be made of  
its being so lost, before the salt bond can  
be recovered; and in some cases the  
Commissioners are so scrupulous with re-  
spect to this proof, as to render it next to  
impossible to recover the bond, or avoid  
the penalty it contains.” — On this sub-  
ject the following case was stated to the  
Reporter.

A buss on the fishing station was unfortunately lost, and nothing saved but the lives of the crew. The master went to a Justice of the Peace, whom he found in the neighbourhood where he was, and made oath to the loss of his vessel, with the salt, &c. on board; but not having saved his papers, he committed a mistake of five or six bushels in the quantity of salt on board. This attestation signed by the Justice of Peace, was transmitted to the Commissioners, for recovery of the salt-bond. On account of the *error*, it was returned, to be altered. The man then went before two Justices of the Peace, and made oath to the *exact* quantity. This attestation was transmitted anew; but returned again as insufficient, it being alledged that the deposition should have been made before a quorum of Justices *at their quarter sessions*, (so the law according to the strict letter requires). The shipmaster was gone to sea, and could not be found at that time; and being engaged in the herring-fishery, it is a thousand to one if he must not either forego



forego a season's fishing, or be brought to pay the penalty of his bond, as he cannot be certain of being home at the precise day the Justices meet at the quarter sessions.—This is one small specimen of the vexatious embarrassments to which poor people are subjected by these bonds: others will probably fall to be afterwards taken notice of.

“No vessel can lend or give salt to any other at the fishing or otherwise, even though belonging to the same owners; because the quantity shipped *per* cocquet in any vessel, must be regularly landed at some customhouse or other, either on fish, or not used; and if it must be lent, must be so landed and bonded, and again shipped *per* cocquet anew. If lent otherwise, the salt and vessel are seizable.

“No salt can be landed, or regularly entered, without warrant, as has been said, from the customhouse, and the duty paid down. And in the event of any fish-curer living at a distance from a customhouse, and having a store there, he must bring the master of the vessel to the custom-

customhouse, be it ever so far from him, report and enter the cargo, and then a land-waiter is ordered to discharge the vessel at the most convenient *legal* delivering creek within the district of the customhouse, or at the customhouse itself, as mentioned in the Report, if no nearer legal delivering creek belongs to it †.

“ If any merchant should purchase fish from a fish-curer, he must have a clearance from the customhouse along with them,

† Many places, even in legal harbours, though convenient enough for unloading vessels, are not within the legal bounds of the harbour, and therefore no goods can be landed at them.——Thus the new pier on the north side of the harbour of Campbelton, though a very good place for unloading, is not a *legal* delivering place; and in like manner, the best place for a pier at Oban is on the east side of that bay, but not being within the legal bounds of that harbour, cannot be employed as a *legal* delivering place. It is believed few places among the western islands are legal delivering creeks, and therefore all vessels must be entered and discharged at the customhouse itself: Even where the case is otherwise, the hardship to the trader is great, as he must be at the expence of transporting the land-waiter backward and forward to that creek, and satisfy him besides for his trouble almost at what rate he pleases to demand.

them, be it ever so far from him; otherwise the fish are seizable, and the fish-curer can get no credit for the salt consumed on them. If wanted for home-consumption, an entry must also be made at the customhouse accordingly, and the duty of one shilling per barrel if for Scotland, or three shillings and fourpence if for England, be paid, and permit got. If for exportation, they must also be entered as such, and the debenture of two shillings and eightpence per barrel recovered. No sale can be regularly made, *nor herrings moved*, without such steps beings previously taken."

Many of the above-mentioned restrictions seem to be unnecessary, and have no other tendency but to cramp the fishing trade in *Scotland*. Even with regard to *England*, the people are much more at liberty to act as their interest prompts them. For, when fish-curers in *England* either import or purchase salt, they have no farther trouble than granting *one* bond for the quantity laid in; and when shipping it for the fishing,

never

never go near a customhouse; because, by granting bond, they are fully obliged to account for it, under the penalty of ten shillings *per* bushel. They only give a certificate to the shipmaster, mentioning, that so much salt is put on board his vessel, for the purpose of curing fish; which if used on fish, the fish-curer reports the quantity, and either enters the fish for home-consumption, and pays the duty, or for exportation, and draws the debenture; and, in either case, gets credit in his salt-accounts for the quantity of salt consumed: if not used on fish, he returns his salt to his store, and his bond remains good as at first.—These indulgences are great, when compared with the case of Scotland; but when it is adverted, that customhouses are in all cases comparatively at hand in England, and at a very great distance from the people who ought naturally to carry on the fishings in Scotland, it will appear plain that these indulgences were far more requisite in Scotland than in England, as in the last they could only operate as a hardship,



hardship, whereas in the first they are no less than *an absolute prohibition*.

With regard to the trade in salt from England to Scotland, the restraints are equally grievous and impolitic. The best refined rock-salt is little inferior to foreign salt for curing fish. This salt, the Irish, Dutch, Swedes, Danes, and others, may purchase duty-free. But the Scotch fishermen, if they purchase that salt, must not only give bonds in the same manner as for other salt, but must also give security, that if that salt is used in curing fish, these fish must be carried to *England* before the 5th of April next; and if only part used, the fish and remainder of the salt must be returned; and if no part of the salt is used, the whole of it must be returned.—Thus are the Scotch fishers absolutely debarred from using, in any case, the English refined rock-salt, which is by far the cheapest that can be employed in these fisheries, and therefore they cannot come in competition, on equal terms in this respect, either with the Irish, Dutch, Norwegians, or Swedes, all

of

of whom obtain this necessary article on much easier terms than they can. Is it a wonder that the Scotch fisheries should not much prosper, when they have been clogged with so many unreasonable restraints?

*M,*

*See Report, page 46th.*

It was doubtless the intention of the Legislature, when the several bounties were granted to adventurers in the fisheries, that the money paid by Government for bounties should go to the immediate profit of these adventurers, and nowhere else; yet it has so happened, that, from the numerous and intricate regulations adopted in consequence of these bounties, the difficulty of complying with them in all cases, the extraordinary expence that these regulations occasion, the restraints they impose, and the losses they necessarily occasion from mistakes, omissions, and accidents, that bring on ruinous law-suits, that perhaps not one penny of these bounties, since they

they have been granted, has gone into the pockets of the fishermen. The inconveniences arising from these laws, may be divided into the following classes:

1<sup>st</sup>, The great and unnecessary expence they occasion:—

2<sup>d</sup>, The restraints they impose on the adventurers with regard to the fishing, so as to prevent them from pursuing their own interest as they otherwise might have done:—

3<sup>d</sup>, The checks that they give to the trade in this article, so as to exclude the adventurers from the proper markets:—

And *lastly*, The ruin and misery they produce by multiplied law-suits, which are, in their circumstances, altogether unavoidable.

As to the *first* head, viz. the immediate expence these laws occasion—some specimens of that have been already adduced. These expences, however, that have been mentioned, affect those only, who, living in the neighbourhood of a customhouse, are induced to fit out buffes: for, as to the inhabitants of the

Hebrides,

Hebrides, who, from their natural situation, can alone carry on the fishings with economy, they must be here out of the question; for, the expence to them is so enormous, as necessarily to preclude all idea of attempting to derive any benefit from those bounties.—In what follows, therefore, on this head, I must be understood as considering only the buss-fishery.

On the east coast of Scotland, where the buss-fishery has been less followed than on the west coast, and where, it is probable, the customhouse-fees on that head are less properly regulated, I have been assured, that these fees, on the outfit of a vessel of thirty tons burthen, have in some cases amounted to upwards of L. 7; the bounty on that vessel was L. 45: So that here, at one haul, above one sixth of that bounty is swallowed up in the customhouse. This part, therefore, is surely a mere useless expenditure of the public treasure.

The numerous bonds already mentioned, are another drain that carry off



a great part of the bounty, without benefiting the adventurers.

But a still heavier expence, which falls equally under the *second* head, is occasioned by the time that is needlessly spent each year in going to a particular port to rendezvous, after they have cleared out from another. This, on an average, cannot be accounted, when both outgoing and returning is included, at less than one month's delay; and as the sailing expence of a buss of thirty tons burthen is about L. 20 a-month, this article alone swallows up nearly one-half of the bounty.

Another restraint which is little less hurtful, perhaps more so, is, that when a buss goes out on the herring-fishery, she is precluded from taking lines or hooks, or on any occasion following any other business but the herring-fishery alone. But it often happens that these busses lie for many weeks without falling in with the herrings; during all which time, the men are entirely idle, and only heaping up expences on the under-

undertaker's head. But during that time, they are for the most part cruising in seas where cod, and ling, sun-fish, whales, dog-fish, mackarel, and other fish that follow the herrings, could be caught in abundance; at which work, had they lines, and were they at liberty to use them, the hands might be employed with profit to the owners, and benefit to the nation; as they would be at all times ready to engage in the herring-fishery, by laying aside their lines, and employing their nets whenever the shoal cast up.

Another heavy expence to the undertakers, as well as national loss, arising from the bounty, is occasioned by the law which ordains, that all the hands must pass muster at the customhouse, both before they set sail, and after they return. In consequence of that regulation, the owners must give food and wages to at least double, for the most part three times the number of hands that are necessary for navigating the vessel, during the whole time of the voyage  
to

to and from the fishing-locks, where hands could in general be obtained at less expence than at the port. These hands are thus cooped up idle, for no purpose; and during a throng fishery, as soon as the vessel has compleated her cargo, they must leave it to loiter in idleness; whereas, had they been at liberty to remain, they might have caught, during that time of idleness, perhaps the amount of many cargoes of herrings.

These are a few of the expensive restraints to which the owners of busses are subjected during the fishing itself. The bars to the disposal of their fish, occasioned by these laws, are not much less to be complained of.

By the law, a vessel on the bounty must continue on the fishing ground for three months, if she has not sooner compleated her cargo; and should she have caught nine-tenths of her cargo during the first week, she is not at liberty to discharge a single barrel till the three months are expired, and as the first day of rendezvous is at present the first

August

August, (which, in the opinion of most of the fishermen, is eight or nine weeks too late), it frequently, indeed usually happens, that, before they can return to port, and get their fish ready for sale, the West-India ships are sailed, and must take in their loading in Ireland, which, in these cases, they purchase at a higher price than they could have had them for at home: but, had the fishermen been allowed to land any part of this cargo, as soon as they found it ready, they could in general not only reach the Clyde market in time with a great part of their herrings, but, in many cases, they could even be sent to Liverpool and Bristol, in time to overtake their West-India ships. By this means, the fishermen would not only obtain a ready sale and good prices, but they would avoid glutting the market so much as they often do at present, after the West-India fleet is sailed.

To this head belongs another restriction arising from the salt-laws, with respect to the sale of dried cod, and other



dry fish. By the law now in force, white herrings cured with foreign or Scotch small salt carried out duty-free for the fishery, may be entered for home-consumption, on paying one shilling *per* barrel in Scotland, and three shillings and fourpence in England; whereas ling, cod, tusk, and hake, cured with the same salt, are not by law admitted to be sold or entered for home-consumption. But it is known by fatal experience, to be very prejudicial to the adventurers in the ling and cod fisheries upon these coasts, to be obliged to export their fish to foreign markets, where they are sold at a losing price, when the British market had little or none of this kind to supply their demand.—This restriction on the British fishermen seems to be the more unreasonable, when it is considered, that vessels cleared out for the Iceland or North-Sea fishery, are allowed to carry out salt duty-free for the ling and cod fishery, and, on their return to port, are exempted from paying duty for the fish so caught.—And why this distinction

distinction against the fishers on our coasts. They are, however, in this case, obliged either to pay the duty for what salt returns unused, or to destroy it at the sight of the customhouse officer.—

Why, again, in this case, subject the fishermen to the loss of their salt, when it might be safely lodged under the key of the customhouse officers, till used?

With regard to the distress brought upon individuals by law-suits, in consequence of these salt-laws, it would fill a volume to recite them. But, were a bare list of the prosecutions raised on this account since the commencement of the bounty-laws, to be produced, it would strike the mind of every attentive observer with horror. In these cases, the miscarriage of a letter (and to places where no regular post goes, this must frequently happen), the carelessness of an ignorant shipmaster, the mistake of a clerk in office, or other circumstances equally trivial, often involve a whole industrious family in ruin. There are instances of men being brought to Edin-

burgh, from many hundred miles distance, to the neglect of their own affairs, merely because of some neglect or omission of some petty clerk in office, which, when rectified, brings no other relief, save a permission to return home, with no farther load of debt but the expence of such a journey, and the loss it has occasioned. But, should the case be otherwise, and should the mistake have been committed by the poor countryman, tho' that mistake originated from ignorance only, or was occasioned by the loss of a letter in going to places where no regular posts are established, he becomes loaded with additional burdens, which in many cases all his future industry and care will never enable him to discharge.\*

From  
 \* On this occasion we may remark, that tho' the law is the same with regard to salt in England and Scotland; yet, in England, so many easies are given to fishermen, in the execution of the law, when compared with Scotland, that it appears quite a different system, and is therefore productive of very little inconvenience. In Scotland, many actions are carried on every year with respect to salt-bonds: In England, when the Commis-

From a consideration of these circumstances, some of the best informed fishermen are much disposed to petition Parliament rather to charge the full duty on all salt used in the fisheries, and allow a freedom from these cruel restraints, than to grant the exemption from duty on the present terms. This request shows at least the strong sense they entertain of the hardships to which they are subjected by these laws; tho' they do not seem sufficiently to advert to other consequences that would result from this measure. For, as the Dutch and Irish, and all other competitors in the fishing business, are exempted from the high duties they would pay on salt, the British fishermen would thus be rendered

unable to compete with those who have been exempted. A list of the number of vessels on that account, which had been there carried on since the law for encouraging the fisheries commenced, the return was only ONE.—Alas! poor Scotland, how are thy people harrassed!

At present, even salt that has paid duty, if carried out in a ship to the fisheries, must be bonded, and is liable to the same regulations as duty-free salt; so that unless an express law be made for dispensing with these regulations, they will always be insisted on.



unable to compete with them in foreign markets, and the fishing, under that severe check, could not flourish. In general, however, the bulk of the fishermen seem to think of no other remedy, but to obtain an augmentation of the bounty, and some little ease with regard to some of the restrictive regulations concerning salt, without seeming to think it is possible to remove those radical evils that so much tend to diminish their profits at present, or to throw that business into such a train as to enable the great body of the people in the Hebrides to follow it on their own account with vigour and profits.

*See Report, page 54th.*

It is difficult for men who have been accustomed always to live in an improved, commercial, and populous country, to form an idea of the state of a country that

Foreign salt duty free to the Irish, Dutch, &c. costs per bushel of fifty-six pounds, about one shilling; duty paying the duties in Britain, amounts to eight shillings; difference as eight to one.

that does not possess these advantages. One who from his earliest infancy has been accustomed to see a good road, on which he could travel with ease from place to place, has no notion of the circumstances of those who cannot find a possibility of going a few miles from home without great difficulty and danger. One who sees waggons and other carriages passing his door every day, in which any kind of goods, whether they be cheap and bulky, or small and valuable, can be safely and expeditiously sent at a trifling expence, can form no idea of the difficulty and expence of sending on purpose with every separate parcel, where no opportunity occurs of sending it along with others. A letter, for example, can easily be conveyed from London to Edinburgh, by post, for sevenpence; but if it were to be sent on purpose by itself, where no roads had been made, no towns formed, nor places where horses could be hired, it would cost five hundred, perhaps five thousand times that sum. A small box may be easily

easily sent from Leith to London for a shilling; but the freight of a vessel to go with that, if it had nothing to bring back in return, would cost perhaps a thousand times that sum. But if there was only a single person living in Edinburgh or Leith, and no commerce, or roads or towns in the way, that letter, or that box, must either remain unsent, or the heavy expense of sending them alone be born with it. This may serve to give some idea of the bars that interrupt the progress of industry and commerce in these countries.

at a trifling expense, and of the difficulty and expense of sending

See Report, page 56th.

The canal mentioned in the Report, would be of very great benefit to that country, in several respects. In the first place, were it finished, it would open a direct communication between all the countries round Lochiel and Lochaber, and the sea at Loch-Moidart; and of course would open a direct communication with Cannay, Uist, Skye, and all the

† See the Preface, Art. Revenue.

the best fishing stations on the west coast; so that the people about Fort-William and adjacent countries, could enter into that fishing with freedom, if they so inclined.

In the next place, it deserves to be remarked, that on the shores about Loch-Moidart, there are found abundant beds of shell-sand, which could thus be carried in boats to many extensive fields in Lochaber, on which by that means could be highly improved, and rendered of great value to the proprietors, at a small expence; but which never can be improved at a moderate expence, in any other way that has yet been discovered. On the other hand, the fir-woods that come down from Loch-Arkeck and Loch-Lochy, which are so much wanted in the western islands, but which cannot be carried thither at present, save by a long navigation round Morven and Ardnamurchan by the Sound of Mull, could be carried down by the return of these boats at a small expence, to the very near neighbourhood of Skye, and other



other islands in that part of the country. This would tend much to facilitate the improvement of these parts.

P.

*See Report, page 57th.*

CORINNIANs differ with regard to the expediency of the proposed canal at Terbat on at Grinan, some persons, thinking the one, and some the other, would be most expedient. On this subject, however, after having examined both places, and consulted Mr. Watt's estimate of the expense of both canals, I think there is no room for hesitating about that to which the preference should be given in point of national utility. The canal at Grinan lies directly in the track from the Clyde to the North Highlands. The same wind that favours the navigation in one part of this course, favours it through the whole; whereas that of Terbat lies out of the track, and requires a different wind in one place, from that which would answer in all other parts of it. This circumstance alone, is with me entirely decisive

cific as to the national utility : and as to the difference in the expence between the two, it is so small as to deserve no attention in a work of such great utility. Were that at Tarbat finished at this moment, I do not conceive that it would prevent the other from being executed; and in that case, the inconveniences occasioned by the Tarbat canal, would perhaps equal the benefits that would accrue from it.

*See Report, page 60th.*

The necessity of this road, or even the utility of it, will not perhaps appear obvious at first sight; but a little reflection upon the subject, will tend to make it apparent.

In opening a communication between different places in distant parts of the country, the easiest way, it has been found by experience, is to establish one direct road leading from the most distant parts to the metropolis, and opening lateral communications to that road from all other places as it passes them. By this means,

means, one post travelling along the great road, supplies the whole; and there are only lateral posts wanted from the principal places on each side of it, to that principal road. Hence it will follow, that if the principal road is as near the different places as may be, the expence of the lateral posts will be as small as possible, and vice versa.

At present, the only great post-road thro' Scotland northward, is from Edinburgh by Perth, Aberdeen, Inverness, &c. Now, any one who looks at the map of Scotland, will perceive, that this line is as far removed from the west coast, as it can possibly be, and by consequence, that every lateral post leading to it from thence, must go across the whole island, the expence of which is so great as to prevent a possibility of making many of them; so that few places can have posts at all, and no direct communication at all can be carried on by post between places very near each other.

Let it, for example, be supposed, that a man in Loch-Yew was to send a letter to another

another in Loch-Broom, the direct distance being about twenty miles; that letter must first travel to Edinburgh, and from thence be returned to Loch-Broom, a distance of near a thousand miles going and returning, in travelling which space near a fortnight must elapse; and the same thing must happen by the present course of post between any two places situate twenty or thirty miles south and north of each other in all those regions. The consequence is, that their only correspondence is confined to accidental opportunities of meeting with vessels sailing along the coast, or express boats sent on purpose. So long as things shall remain on this footing, the people must remain in a great measure strangers to the state of each other, unacquainted with their respective wants, and unable to relieve them. But, were a road made, leading from Fort-William along the west coast from south to north, as near the coast as possible, so as to keep free of ferries, to go forward till it reached Thurso on the east coast, and to have a  
branch



branch from Fort-William directly to Inverary, it would necessarily happen, that all the packet-boats from the west coast, to any of the islands, would have a very direct communication with that road. And if posts were regularly travelling on it, the time necessary for corresponding between any of those islands and Edinburgh, would be much shortened, and intelligence could be thus quickly, and at a trifling expence, conveyed along the coast from place to place everywhere: so that if a great take of fish came up in any one loch, intelligence of it would quickly be conveyed to every other loch; and the master of a vessel in any one place could know with certainty, in a very short time, not only of one place in which the herrings had appeared, but of every place in which they had been seen, and the size of the body of fish that had been discovered. He could thus direct his course immediately to the place which best suited his purpose, without danger of being misled. or of being lost.

At

At present, fishermen complain, that even when expresses are sent on the business of fishing, the intelligence is not conveyed to all, but only to such as the persons employed think proper. This objection must ever lie against private intelligence. A public post cannot be made, in this manner, the tool of a monopoly. Besides, though fish may cast up in one loch, from whence an express is sent, they may also be in another in greater quantities, or nearer at the time, from which no news have come. — vessels may be thus misled, and drawn away from the best fishery, to one that is much worse. — Too many may be thus induced to croud together into one place, so as to occasion great disorder, and many inconveniences; all which would be obviated by a daily correspondence by post; which might easily be established, were a road carried in the direction here proposed. — From these, and other obvious considerations, I was extremely solicitous, when on that coast, to discover if a road could be formed, that would be tolerably level,

level, in the direction proposed; but as it goes directly across the general ridges of hills, all the inhabitants concurred in telling me, it would be a matter of great difficulty, if not impracticable. I cannot, however, be easily satisfied that it would be impracticable, if a person well-skilled in matters of this kind were to survey the country; for, I have seldom seen a ridge of hills, of very great length, without some practicable opening winding thro' them, on which a horse-path at least could be formed. I therefore would propose, that a premium should be offered to the person who should discover the best course of a practicable horse-road (I do not insist on a road for carriages) in the direction proposed.

But, if after all it should be found that no horse-road could be there obtained, I should not, from that circumstance, abandon the idea of having a post established in that direction. Men to run could there be found, who would go short stages very quickly; and were the post to go every day (Sundays not excepted,

cepted), the mails would be light; and the same man could always go and return the same stage in the same day, so that he would become perfectly acquainted with every step of the road in a very short time. During very violent falls of snow, the post might indeed be a few days interrupted; but that usually happens at a season of the year when the interruption could be easiest born with.

As to the idea of roads being formed there for the purpose of driving weighty carriages, or for conveying uncured fish from place to place along them, as one gentleman seems to apprehend; it is too absurd, as I should think, ever to have entered into the thought of any man who had the smallest claim to be considered as a rational creature.

R.

*See Report, page 65th.*

It must here be remarked, that in no branch of revenue, is the difference between the gross amount and the net produce so great as in the salt duties; the

A a

gross



gross amount being in England about L. 900,000, and in Scotland L. 36,000; the net produce in England about L. 250,000, and in Scotland L. 11,000 *per annum*: So that above two-thirds of the gross revenue is destroyed in the expence of management, and in drawbacks. Much therefore is paid, which does not come in to the public treasury.

It will perhaps be said, that no part of what goes under the name of *drawback*, is paid by British subjects; yet it will be no difficult matter to show, that, in the present case, nearly as much is actually paid by the subjects of Britain, as the whole of the gross revenue stated in the accompt, even when the whole of the drawback stands as a part of it.

Those who are not in the secrets of certain trades, can never explain clearly the way in which frauds on the revenue are committed; though, when a man is in possession of certain facts, he may be able to demonstrate, with the most undeniable clearness, that some kinds of fraud must be committed, to a certain amount.

amount. A man, for example, who knows that about 20,000 hogsheads of tobacco are annually consumed in Britain, and that the revenue arising from that article amounts only to about L. 300,000 *per annum*, (which is not quite equal to the duty of 5000 hogsheads), must know, that, by one mean or other, three hogsheads nearly are clandestinely imported, for every one that pays duty.

In like manner, a man who knows the quantity of salt that is on an average consumed by each individual during a year, and also knows the number of persons nearly who are in the island, can easily ascertain with tolerable exactness, what is the quantity of salt consumed in the island, without having recourse to the salt-accompts.

On this principle, I find, upon enquiry of many attentive householders, that the average quantity of salt actually consumed in an ordinary family, amounts to nearly two pecks, or half-a bushel of fifty-six pounds weight to each person in

one year &c. But, as this quantity rises very high, let the quantity used on food be taken only at one peck and a-half each, and then the quantity consumed would be as under, taking the number of people in England and Wales at eight millions, and those of Scotland at two millions; both which computations, there is good reason to think, are rather below than above the truth.—Eight millions of persons in England, consuming twenty-one pounds of salt each, would, in one year, make use of three millions of bushels which, at five shillings per bushel, (the present duty in England) is L. 750,000. In Scotland, two millions of people, at the same rate, would use 750,000 bushels which, at one shilling and sixpence per bushel, gives L. 56,250. The whole money, therefore, paid by the people of Britain for salt-duties, actually amounts to L. 806,250; or, taking it at a round sum, to upwards of L. 800,000.

† It is to be observed, that the salt used in bread, and salted provisions if any are used in the family, should be taken into this account.

for salt used on provisions, besides what is used in manufactures, and for glass; other salts, mineral salt, &c. which may be rated safely at £150,000 with salt £850,000. Of this sum it appears, that only £250,000 is paid into the Exchequer in England, and £14,000 nearly in Scotland, so in all £264,000. So that the people actually pay very near four times as much on account of this tax, as goes to the revenue. *What, it will be said, becomes of the residue?* The answer is plain—It goes into the pockets of smugglers, a set of men who are equally destructive to the fair trader, and detrimental to the public, by appropriating to themselves that money which ought to defray the expenses of the State, the deficiency of which must be made up by some other tax. If ever this tax shall be repealed, therefore, it must follow, that all those persons who at present profit in any way in this clandestine trade, will be loud in their clamours with a view to frustrate any



any plan that may be thought of for raising a revenue equivalent to the amount of the salt-tax, as they must well know, that their unjust profits will be annihilated, as soon as it shall be adopted. But, should the Legislature impose any other tax in its stead, that would be easy to collect, and which should not press unequally on individuals, and not be liable to evasions, it is sufficiently plain, from the foregoing considerations, that if no more revenue should be raised by it than the net-revenue arising from the salt-duties at present, the whole body of the people would be great gainers by the exchange. For, if the people in Britain consume at present as much salt as should pay to Government about £. 850,000 of duty, (and the consumers pay the same, or very near the same price as if it all paid duty); and Government nets only £. 261,000, it is plain, that if, instead of that salt-duty, they paid, by another tax, the sum of £. 260,000, they would, by this exchange, save five hundred

dred and ninety thousand pounds *per annum*. When individuals are to be such gainers, and the revenue to lose nothing by a measure that would be productive of such very essential benefits to commerce, manufactures, and fisheries, as this measure would obviously be, it is scarcely to be supposed that such a salutary measure would be rejected by the Legislature of this country, because a few interested individuals should industriously employ their emissaries to raise a clamour against it.

Of all the kinds of taxes which can be proposed, those which are levied upon consumable commodities, are the most liable to escape the notice of the person who pays them, and are at the same time the most liable to frauds upon the *people*, (for I choose to state it so, rather than call it by the less exceptionable, though less just name of frauds upon the revenue), than any others. Hence it happens, that whenever a tax is imposed on articles of this kind, the consumer is not only obliged to pay to the person who  
secretly

secretly evades the duty, the same rate he ought to have paid to Government; but in most cases he is charged besides with an additional price, equal to five or six times the amount of the duty charged to Government. The instances of this kind are so numerous, and so obvious to every person, as not to require to be here pointed out. The natural inference to be drawn from this remark is, that consumable articles of necessary use among the lower ranks of people, ought not to be charged with duties by Government; because this, in all cases, subjects the people to a very heavy assessment, without affording an adequate aid to Government. And as salt is a necessary that cannot be dispensed with by the poorest people, and is besides an article of great use in agriculture, and a variety of other manufactures; and as the trade in this article is exceedingly liable to frauds, it must, in sound policy, be deemed an object extremely improper for taxation. And though it must be owned, that nations whose rulers neither attend to the  
dictates

dictates of humanity, nor principles of sound policy, have chosen to tax this substance merely because it cannot be dispensed with by any one; yet the hardships to which this tax subjects the whole body of the people, and the civil disorders it occasions in the State, serve very effectually to point it out as a tax exceedingly pernicious and impolitic. From these considerations, it will well become the enlightened Legislators of Britain, to set the example to all surrounding nations, of first deliberately freeing their people from this cruel, impolitic, and unproductive tax.

Should the Legislature resolve upon this measure, which I cannot doubt of, they ought at the same time to guard against an evil that may be expected to flow from it. Those who have been so long accustomed to rob their fellow subjects, under the pretext of paying a high duty to the King, will feel no scruples of conscience in continuing the same practice under any other pretext they can devise: and as it is usual when a new duty



secretly evades the duty, the same rate he ought to have paid to Government; but in most cases he is charged besides with an additional price, equal to five or six times the amount of the duty charged to Government. The instances of this kind are so numerous, and so obvious to every person, as not to require to be here pointed out. The natural inference to be drawn from this remark is, that consumable articles of necessary use among the lower ranks of people, ought not to be charged with duties by Government; because this, in all cases, subjects the people to a very heavy assessment, without affording an adequate aid to Government. And as salt is a necessary that cannot be dispensed with by the poorest people, and is besides an article of great use in agriculture, and a variety of other manufactures; and as the trade in this article is exceedingly liable to frauds, it must, in sound policy, be deemed an object extremely improper for taxation. And though it must be owned, that nations whose rulers neither attend to the dictates

dictates of humanity, nor principles of sound policy, have chosen to tax this substance merely because it cannot be dispensed with by any one; yet the hardships to which this tax subjects the whole body of the people, and the civil disorders it occasions in the State, serve very effectually to point it out as a tax exceedingly pernicious and impolitic. From these considerations, it will well become the enlightened Legislators of Britain, to set the example to all surrounding Nations, of first deliberately freeing their people from this cruel, impolitic, and unproductive tax.

Should the Legislature resolve upon this measure, which I cannot doubt of, they ought at the same time to guard against an evil that may be expected to flow from it. Those who have been so long accustomed to rob their fellow subjects, under the pretext of paying a high duty to the King, will feel no scruples of conscience in continuing the same practice under any other pretext they can devise: and as it is usual when a new duty

is

is imposed on articles of this nature, for dealers to charge three or four times the amount of that duty on the articles they sell; so it may be expected, that if a duty is taken off, they will endeavour to apply the same rule, and lower the price of the commodity only one-third or one-fourth the amount of the duty that is taken off. Should this be permitted in an article of such general use as salt, the intention of this wise alteration would be frustrated, and the people would still, without any reason for it, be loaded with a very heavy tax. Care, therefore, should be taken in framing the law effectually to guard against this abuse, which might be done by a few simple regulations which it is unnecessary here particularly to specify.

I do not consider it as falling within my province, in this public manner, to point out a less objectionable tax that might be adopted, to yield a revenue equal to the net produce of the salt-duties. But, should this measure be ever seriously intended to be carried into practice,

practice, (and I have no hesitation in saying, that till the salt duties are taken off, it is in vain ever to think of establishing an important fishery on the British coasts), there will be no difficulty in finding a tax to be adopted which cannot be evaded; which will not be felt as severe by the poorest person in the island, and which can be liable to no abuse in the collection, nor other frauds by which the money paid by the subject will be diverted from going directly into the coffers of the public. What an immense sum of money would be saved to the industrious people of this island, were all the taxes on other necessary articles of consumption taken off, and other taxes of the same nature with that here alluded to adopted in their stead †! Were the  
good

† It is strange to see the general favour that the people bear to those manufacturers, who they know fall upon means to evade payment of any one article of duty, without ever considering that these manufacturers as effectually rob their fellow-subjects of that sum, as if they put their hand into their neighbour's pocket, and took the money away: For every pound of  
candles



good effects of ~~the~~ such salutary change experienced, it might gradually pave the way for that of others.

Among the benefits that would result to Britain from the abolition of the salt duties, one of the first that would be felt, would be the enabling her own people to supply her navies and ships, &c. with salt provisions, which for many years past have been obtained from Ireland, in consequence of that absurd bounty already specified which has been granted by us to Ireland, to give them a monopoly in this branch of trade against ourselves. In consequence of that monopoly, Britain imports from Ireland annually about 78,000 barrels of beef, and 48,000 barrels of pork, besides butter and other salted provisions, the value of which, if reckoned

candles that a manufacturer secrets, he obtains from the consumer twopence more than its just price, which goes into his pocket without paying any value for it, and comes out of the pocket of the purchaser without any equivalent given in exchange, as he must inevitably pay that twopence over again to make up the deficiency of the tax. The same may be said of every other similar evasion.

reckoned only at three pounds per barrel, amounts to L. 369,000 per annum; and this not reckoning what is taken in by British vessels for ship-stores in Ireland, the amount of which I have not been able to ascertain, but which must probably be more than that which is imported directly into Britain. To obtain a branch of trade of so great national value, and one of so much importance to the landed and mercantile interests of Britain, well deserves the serious attention of the Legislature of this island, and would alone authorise a much bolder measure than that proposed, were no other consequences to result from it.

But the trade in salted provisions, great as it is, is not the only benefit that would result to Britain, in respect to her commerce with Ireland, from the abolition of the salt-duties. Ships which are under a necessity of touching at Ireland to take in the important article of salted meat, delay taking on board all other stores that can be purchased at a less, or even equal price in Ireland, than they can be  
had

had for in Britain, which tends yet farther to diminish the trade and manufactures, and to injure the revenue of Britain: But, could salted provisions be had equally good and cheap at home as in Ireland, it would not be worth while in most cases, for a vessel to lose time to stop at Ireland to take in the articles of less consequence, which might be obtained a small matter cheaper in Ireland. These articles, therefore, would be taken on board in Britain also; and thus our revenue and trade would be augmented by their consumption, instead of that of a foreign State.

We ought also farther to advert, that, in consequence of our present salt-laws, a very great trade is carried on from Ireland to Britain (and the same may be said from Norway and Sweden to our northern islands), in smuggled salt. An innumerable multitude of small boats are constantly employed in this trade, by which they are chiefly supported. It is this which forms their cargo; but along with it, many other articles of value,

value, and small bulk, are sent to every part of our coast, which never could be brought thither, were it not for the opportunities that readily offer, of sending them so easily by the salt-boats. This salt business, therefore, lays the sure foundation of a very extensive smuggling trade on all our coast, in a variety of articles which could not be carried on without it.—Annihilate that trade, and the other must fall of course.

From these considerations, I am satisfied, that if the salt-duties in Britain were abolished, though no other tax were adopted in its stead, the revenue of this nation would not be in the smallest degree diminished; far less could that diminution be experienced, were another less objectionable tax, that would produce an equal free revenue, adopted in its stead. I cannot, therefore, bring myself to believe, that the nation will hesitate about approving of this proposal, whenever it shall come to be coolly considered.

It



R 2.

*See Report, page 65th.*

It occurs to every person who thinks about the means of improving the fisheries, that the benefits would be great, were stores of cask and salt laid up in convenient places along these coasts: And many persons consider this as a matter so easy and obvious, that they make light of every difficulty; and imagine, that by this single improvement, which might, as they think, be carried into practice as soon almost as it could be thought of, the fishermen would have every advantage they could reasonably wish for. It is, however, most certain, that the present state of that country does not admit of this improvement at all, and that, till the situation of the inhabitants be altered, it is altogether impracticable.

The salt-laws are, in the *first* place, an insuperable bar to such a plan. While these subsist, no man can sell salt for the purpose of the fisheries, in small quantities; and in the islands, at a distance from

from the customhouse, it cannot be sold at all in such a way as could benefit the fisheries; as has been already shown.

But even were the salt-laws altered in this respect, it does not appear how it would be possible, as things are now circumstanced, to establish such stores as would afford the relief wanted. It has been already shown, that herrings come in at times in such quantities to particular lochs, as that many thousand barrells might be caught in a very short time. And as the time of their arrival is altogether uncertain, and their continuance there equally precarious,—to answer the purpose wanted, on a coast where no regular conveyance from place to place is established, it would be necessary to have a store of immense magnitude established at each fishing-loch upon the coast, to be ready to answer the demand whenever that should happen. But as it frequently happens, that many years elapse before such an abundant fishing calls up in any one loch, the immense stores thus accumulated, would be allowed to lie

subseq

B b during

during all that time, as a dead and decayed stock. So that, tho' individuals should be found, who could at first command a stock sufficient for that purpose (and such individuals could not be met with in these countries), what man could afford to lie out of his money so long? No profit in trade that can be named would be sufficient to indemnify him.—Such a store, therefore, cannot be established by individuals: And no man of common sense would ever propose that Government should furnish them. The proposal would be too absurd to merit any answer.

From these considerations it will appear, that however plausible such a plan may seem at the first glance, it is, when examined, altogether impracticable; and that no effectual stores can ever be there obtained to answer the purpose wanted, till a general brisk intercourse for the exchange of commodities shall be established between different places along that coast; in which case, without being under the necessity of accumulating such

wasteful

wasteful stores, a supply sufficient to answer the demand, however great it might be, could quickly be brought to the place where it was wanted. I shall soon have occasion to show how that intercourse may be established.—It is only necessary further to observe in this place, that the proposal in the Report, as it is calculated to promote that intercourse, could only be reckoned beneficial in as far as that intercourse was supposed to be established. Let us, however, suppose that large towns were there established—an universal circulation of intelligence would be the first consequence, and a general commercial intercourse the next, that would be felt among the whole. If a shoal of herrings set in to any one bay, it would immediately be known, and it would at the same time be known if they were to be had on any other part of the coast; all the owners of vessels would therefore know whither to repair. Should the fishing be so great as to endanger a scarcity of salt, merchants would immediately obtain



supplies from all those places on the coast where there were no fishing at the time; and supplies would be ordered from all other places; so that the quantity could not be exhausted. The same thing may be said of barrels. But in case it should be found that there could not be got so quickly as they were wanted, joiners and carpenters would be employed to make great vats to answer the sudden emergency, in which the fish could be packed, where they could remain to be properly pined. And in the mean time, many barrels from various quarters would come in, so as to allow the herrings to be packed when ready for that purpose. Some also would be pined in close-decked vessels, in bulk, and sent coastwise to large places, where part of them might be sold, and the remainder barreled up. In this way, a hundred times more herrings might, in some cases, be caught than can be done at present, by the same number of people; and therefore they could be sold, with profit, at a much smaller price than that for which they can be now afforded.

AMONG

*See Report, page 72d.*

AMONG these conditions the most important is, that the proprietor shall engage to furnish to each settler, for the first seven years after this establishment, if the person chooses to receive it, one Scots pint (two English quarts) of unskimmed sweet milk, of a good quality, each day between the first day of May and the first of November, at a stipulated price, not exceeding one penny *per* pint; and from the first of November to the first of May, one chopin (one quart English) *per* day, at a price not exceeding one penny. The feuar in this case to have an option to discontinue it for six months, at any of the terms above mentioned, upon giving one month's previous notice of his intention to the proprietor, or any person he shall entrust with the management of this department; it being always understood, that if no such intimation be given, the feuar intends to continue it, and shall therefore  
be

be obliged to pay for it at the rate above mentioned.

I know not a stipulation of more indispensable necessity than the above, tho' it will be considered by many as ridiculous, and by others will be accounted so troublesome to the proprietors as to require to be omitted. I trust, however, that, when it is duly considered, it will neither be found ridiculous in the eyes of any-one, nor in the smallest degree troublesome to the proprietor, but rather highly beneficial to him.

When a poor family is settled in any place, milk is so necessary for children, and so useful as an article of diet for old people (beer cannot there be had), that no family can possibly do without it. To obtain this necessary article, it is invariably the practice in country-places for every family to have a cow, without which it is thought they could not possibly subsist. To obtain food for this cow, they are under a necessity of farming some land; the digging of which, and the tending this single cow, takes

up

up as much of their time as to prevent them from benefiting themselves by more productive industry. The purchasing of this cow also, and the stocking the land that is necessary for her subsistence, exhausts so much of their little stock, as to render them excessively poor; and the rent they are obliged to pay for that land, keeps them for ever in the same state--The milk that is thus obtained for their family, is purchased at a price ten times more than its worth; and, on this account, their whole life is spent in misery and want. A plan, therefore, which proposes to free them from this intolerable grievance, can afford no just subject for ridicule.

Every person I have consulted upon this subject, agrees in thinking, that nothing proves such an obstruction to the fisheries, as the operations and the cares of agriculture, nor a greater bar to the progress of agriculture than the fisheries, where both are practised by the same person. It is therefore universally admitted, that if these arts are to be carried to perfection, they must be carried  
on



on as distinct professions. The farmer must have nothing to do with the fisheries, nor the fisherman any immediate concern in the operations of agriculture. But, how is it possible to effect this, in the situation here supposed, so easily, or effectually, as by the mode here prescribed? The fisherman would thus enjoy this indispensable necessary of life, without being under any temptation to engage in agriculture; and the farmer, by having an extensive market provided for this useful product of his farm, would find sufficient employment at all times, at his own business, to prevent him from ever thinking of engaging personally in the cares of the fisheries. Thus would be at once drawn that necessary line of partition between the two businesses, which has been often attempted by more complicated regulations in vain, by which they would for ever afterwards be continued as distinct and separate employments.

It will already, I hope, appear plainly enough, that there is no room to apprehend

hend that this stipulation would prove inconvenient to the landlord. No sooner would such a market be provided for this product of the farm, than many men, seeing the profit that would result from it, would be emulous of obtaining the privilege of supplying this article: And as the demand would be steady, and the money that could thus be drawn from the same quantity of forage in this way, would be much more than can be obtained in any other way in those countries, they would be enabled to be at a proper expence for finding rich and succulent food for their cows at all seasons of the year, which would give rise to modes of culture that never could have been experienced without it. And as the man who first obtained the privilege of supplying the settlers with milk, would soon make money, other persons would wish to share in his profits: new farms would be taken for rearing cows; and these rival cow-feeders would endeavour to obtain customers, by selling their milk to such as chose it, at a lower price,

price, or affording it of a better quality than the original contractor. To give rise to this species of rivalry, and thus to prevent the abuse of the contract, the stipulation was made, that any person who chooses it, may withdraw from the original contractor at any term he should find it convenient. By this natural progression, many fields would soon be cultivated. Rival tenants would raise the rent to its proper value to the proprietor; and rival cow-feeders would sink the price of milk to its proper value to the consumer. All matters would then be carried on in the easy natural way that takes place at present in the neighbourhood of every town, without the care or regulating efforts of any-one.

T.

*See Report, page 74th.*

THERE would here be an opening for frauds. Certain persons would no doubt be employed to build these boats by *contract*, and these would probably try to make as much profit as they could by

that contract.——To guard against the evils that might be expected to originate from that source, let it be required by law, that the following condition should be inserted into every contract for building boats for this purpose, *viz.* That no payment of the price of these boats shall be made till eight days shall have fully elapsed after the delivery of the boats to the several persons who shall be adjudged to have gained the premiums, without any complaint being lodged with the Commissioner of Stores, complaining of their insufficiency. But if any such complaint shall have been there lodged before that time, the Commissioner shall not pay the price till the question shall have been fairly discussed. For that purpose, a warrant shall be issued by the Commissioner, (or some other person who shall be judged more competent) to summon fifteen persons in the vicinage, who are acquainted with matters of this sort, within two days at farthest after the complaint is lodged with him, to meet as a jury to examine the boat themselves,



selves, and to judge from their own knowledge, and from the evidence of such other persons as they shall choose to admit, whether these complaints are well or ill founded: And if two-thirds of this jury are of opinion that any boat complained of be faulty, and unfairly made, *that is*, of such materials and size as are not allowed by the contract, the boat shall be entirely forfeited; and it shall be competent for this Court, to impose besides an additional fine, not exceeding the price that should have been paid for the boat. But if the same Court shall find that the boat has been fairly and honestly made of good materials, &c. but that it is not adjudged to be honestly worth the money that was to have been its price,—the Court, in this case, may either order the contractor to make a new boat of the full value it ought to be, and to deliver it into the hands of the persons who have the faulty boat, allowing them in the mean time to make use of the boat they have got till the other be given them,—the price of the first boat

boat being retained till a certificate be obtained from the owners of the boat, acknowledging that they have received a second boat in its place, of a good and sufficient kind, with which they are satisfied. Or the Court may decree, that a part of the contract price, amounting to double the sum that they find the boat is deficient in value, shall be kept back from the builder of the boat, and be given to the persons who have got the boat.—Under the controul of this clause, it is believed few frauds would be attempted.

There is one other difficulty occurs with regard to the boats; which I have often had under contemplation, but never yet have been able to discover in what way it could be obviated.—In different places, boats of very different constructions are accounted the best for the fisheries; so that if the person in one district were to be forced to take those that were of a construction the most esteemed in another district, it would give great discontent: And as each particular kind  
of

of boat possesses certain advantages over others, it is a matter of great difficulty to ascertain which is absolutely the best. This being the case, perhaps the best way to please all parties, would be to establish a competition annually at the place of rendezvous in each district, with regard to the best form of boats for that district, by advertising a premium to be given to the person who showed the boat of the best construction there—the judges to be chosen from among the inhabitants of that district at the time.—The boat which obtained the premium, to serve as a model for the boats to be built in that district for the ensuing year.

## U.

*See Report, page 87th.*

THESE were my first ideas on this subject; but, on considering it more maturely, I am convinced it would be more eligible, not to give any lots of ground along with the town-feus, but merely to grant the settlers the property of the feus in town only: for a distinction

rank

ranks, let certain streets in the original plan of the town, be assigned for particular classes of inhabitants; each class to have peculiar privileges, and be bound by certain regulations, to be adopted at the beginning. One of these regulations should be, That those who take feus allotted by the plan to those of the first class, shall become bound to build a house on that, not under the value of , and those of the second class not under the value of , and so on of all the other classes; and that in all assessments for the town, the rate shall be ascertained according to the different classes, at a certain *per centage* on each, varying according to the class he holds, being highest *per cent.* on the highest classes, and lower on the others—the lowest class being entirely exempted from any assessment: it being always allowable for any person who holds a feu in any one class, to dispose of that feu when he inclines, and to take another in any of the other classes he pleases, on complying with the general terms adopted.

For



For the particulars in this case, see the Appendix, No. 10.

And as it would be a great convenience for the original settlers to obtain money to build such houses as might be fit for establishing themselves there, it would be an advantageous thing for them, if a subscription were opened for raising money in London or elsewhere, to be applied for this purpose, on the following terms:—

1<sup>st</sup>, That any settler wishing to have money from this fund, on bringing an attestation properly authenticated, that a house had been built by him, on a fee of his own property, which had been duly examined by proper persons appointed for that purpose, should be allowed to obtain, if they called for it, any proportion of that money they inclined, not exceeding 75 *per cent.* of the whole sum; and that this sum, on being duly recorded in a register to be kept in each town for that purpose, should become a preferable debt to all others on the subject.

2d, That in consequence of this advance, the person obtaining it should become bound to pay a sum annually, not under the rate of seven and a-half *per cent.* of the money so advanced, but as much more as the possessor inclined : of the sum thus annually paid, five *per cent.* should be allowed to go for interest ; and after deducting the duty for insurance against fire, and expence of management, the remainder should go as a sinking fund to extinguish the original debt : these payments to continue till the whole debt was paid off ; after which, the burthen should be struck off the register, and the property remain clear to the possessor.—At the rate of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  *per cent.* in about twenty-three years, the whole debt, with the insurance, would be entirely paid off, and the subject would remain ever afterwards free to the proprietor.

4th, To facilitate the payment of the interest, let it also be provided in the Act, That in case the annuity aforesaid be not duly paid, the same shall not only

bear interest from the time it falls due, and an action at common law be competent to recover payment, but that if at any time the said annuity shall be allowed to remain unpaid for the space of three years, in that case, it shall be competent for the lender of the money to bring the subject to sale in a summary way, by petition to the chief magistrate of the town, who, on proof being produced of the fact, shall grant warrant for the said sale, it being first duly advertised according to the usual custom in the place. After the sale, the money due to the lender being first paid, the balance that remains after his demand is satisfied, with the expence of sale, shall belong to the proprietor of the house so sold.

By these conditions, the lender would be secured; and the inhabitants of those places, were money thus advanced, would be much accommodated.

Should it be found that monied men were shy to advance money thus on account

[X.]

*Forgoing Report.*

237

count of the small payments, it might perhaps be necessary to allow one quart, or one-eighth *per cent.* for expence of management.

X.

*See Report, page 125th.*

IN the Report, manufactures and products are mentioned in general terms only; but there are two capital articles that deserve to be particularly specified.

—The country in question is very well calculated for the production of *wool*, which is already at so low a price, that a woollen manufactory might very soon be there established, were the restraints that now prevent it removed. This, therefore, would be one capital branch added to their exports; and the advantages for machinery of all kinds are so singularly uncommon there, that many other branches of manufacture would naturally spring up.—*Wood* too, which on account of its low price for many years past, for want of a ready communication through those countries even by sea, and a consequent want of markets, has

C c 2

been



been hitherto neglected, tho' no country in the world is better adapted for rearing it, would quickly rise in value, and by consequence be attended to, so as soon to become a great source of wealth, and medium of commerce. Oak, sufficient to furnish exhaustless stores to the British navy, might there be produced, and of the finest quality. Fir, for masts to any vessel that sails the sea; and Larix, whose value as a ship-timber is not yet known, and which grows on those mountains in the highest perfection, would enable us in a short time to rival the Bermudians themselves, in building light durable, and buoyant vessels, at a small expence †.

† Larix-wood is possessed of so many valuable qualities, that, to enumerate the whole, would appear extravagant hyperbole. It is known to resist water, without rotting almost for ever. The piles of larix-timber on which the houses of Venice were built many hundred years ago, when examined, are still found as fresh as when first put in. And I have been told, stakes of it have been tried for the Decoys of Lincolnshire, which, between wind and water, have already outworn two or three sets of oak.

For these distant undertakings, the internal parts of Scotland are singularly well calculated. To many places there, the access is at present extremely difficult; and in such situations, were there a distant prospect of ever making the access easy,

woods

stakes, and do not yet discover any symptoms of decay. It is also known to possess the valuable quality of neither shrinking nor warping when put into work; nor is it liable to be pierced by worms in our climate, as many of the paintings of Raphael Urban, which are done in this wood, and are still perfectly entire, sufficiently prove.

Experiments have not yet ascertained whether it will resist the sea-worm in tropical climates, like Bermuda cedar; but there is reason to think it would, as in many of its other properties, it resembles that wood very much. Along with these valuable properties, it is known to be one of the quickest-growing trees in this climate, remarkably hardy, and extremely beautiful when growing. It is besides much more easily reared than the oak, and could be spread over a great extent of mountains, if sufficiently bare of herbage, at next to no expence, by the natural shedding of its seeds, like birch or fir in soils that favour them, merely by keeping out cattle from those fields in which small clumps of this kind of wood had been planted some years before. In this way, very extensive tracts, in the condition described, might be entirely filled with this valuable timber.

The

woods, either natural or planted, could be permitted to grow without danger of being destroyed, till they should attain the size of full-grown timber. Were a few canals once finished, many other situations would soon be discovered, from which

The uses to which it might be applied, are innumerable. It would be valuable not only for ship-plank, but even crooked timbers might be obtained, by using a little art when young to bend it, as the Bermudians do their cedar. For flood-gates in navigable canals, and wet-docks, it would exceed every thing that can be obtained in this climate. For barrel-staves, it would be inimitable, and would enable us to furnish that article as cheap as any other nation whatever. And in building, it would answer all the purposes to which it is now applied, being much stronger, and more durable than that wood. And when it is also adverted to, that it is next to incombustible, the Reader will not think it strange, that I in this manner so strongly recommend it to the attention of my countrymen, particularly those in the most rugged and barren districts: For, in such situations, it would be easy to show, that at a very trifling charge, they might in a short period of years, bring their estates to a *hundred* times the value they bear at present, or ever can be made to bear by any other kind of improvement. This would be a much more eligible plan of bettering their fortunes, than that of trying to squeeze, with difficulty, from a poor people, a raised rent for a subject that does not admit of proportional improvement.

which canals might be formed at an easy expence, were any object to be found there, that could afford to defray the expence of such a canal. It would soon be discovered, that a large extent of valuable timber, in these situations, would necessarily in time force open such canals; and it would become the study of proprietors of such districts, instead of suffering their woods to run into ruin, or to be purposely destroyed and rooted out as at present, to preserve their natural woods with care, and even add to their extent by artificial plantations: For, thus they would perceive, that they would lay the certain foundation of aggrandizing their families, and of improving their native district without expence: for such canals would then be made to bring this valuable article to market; and if once made, they would remain for ever after a blessing to posterity.

It affords no unpleasing reflection, on closing these remarks, to observe, that no part of the improvements recommended in the foregoing pages, require any coercive



coercive or compulsory regulations of any sort. Every thing depends upon the mild allurements of self-interest in all the parties concerned; so that it will tend to promote a general cordiality and good-will among all the different classes of men there, instead of those jealousies and disgustful animosities which must ever prevail where unavailing attempts are continually making by every individual, to better his circumstances by means that are altogether inadequate to the end. Disappointments have a natural tendency to sour the mind; and in that situation, every little circumstance is caught at, to afford subject of complaint against each other. No man can be in those countries, without remarking that querulous spirit among all ranks; and no feeling mind will behold it with indifference. The prosperity of the lower classes of the people, will appear to have been the chief object I have ever had in view in these remarks; but those who advert that every national improvement must be carried on by that order of men, and that

that the income which arises from the produce and manufactures of any country, must be proportioned to the energy with which these can exert their mental and corporeal powers; and those who know that that energetic spirit can never be awakened till easy independence is in view, will not be surprised that so much attention should have been seemingly bestowed upon them. Should ever the period arrive, when the *people* there shall be put into the situation I have described, the gentlemen of landed property in those regions, will feel, if possible, a yet greater alteration in their circumstances to the better, than even the common people can experience. In that case, without the smallest exertion, or forecast, or care, on their parts, money would pour into their coffers from every quarter, with an abundance of which they scarcely can at present have an idea; and their respective families would be exalted to a degree of eminence, very unlike to that which their present prospects, unless some measures of this kind shall be adopted, seem to forebode.

It

It would be improper for me here to enlarge on this subject, as I make no doubt but it would be looked upon as chimerical by many of those whose interest would be most immediately affected by the change: Yet I cannot help recommending to the attentive part of the proprietors there, into whose hands this Treatise may chance to fall, a very serious investigation of this particular. Those who best know what wealth has thus accrued to the Family of a Grosvenor, a Pultney, a Bedford, and others, will have the least difficulty in believing the possibility at least of what is here alluded to, and ought of course to be most disposed to forward improvements, which, at the same time that they have such a powerful tendency to add to the wealth and stability of the State, must, in a yet higher proportion, enrich and aggrandize their own private families.

E N D

*Of Illustrations of the Report.*

**EVIDENCE** given before the **COMMITTEE** of the **HOUSE OF COMMONS**, appointed to enquire into the State of the *British Fisheries, &c.* by **JAMES ANDERSON, L. L. D.** [Extracted from the Third Report of that Committee, dated 14th July 1785.]

**D**R. **ANDERSON** having been summoned to attend your Committee, and being present while the Committee, read his Report, various questions were proposed to the Doctor, touching the matter contained therein, which produced the following Evidence.

**BEING** asked, Whether he imagined that the proprietors in the islands and western coasts of Scotland behold with indifference the poverty of the lower orders of people on their estates? or, Whether they do not rather make exertions to free them from that distressful poverty which he described in his Report?



port?—He answered, That he imagined the proprietors in the western coasts of Scotland, in general, shew a spirit of liberality to their tenants, and the lower order of people under them, equal at least to that discovered by the Gentlemen of any other part of Britain that he is acquainted with; and that he knew many instances in which they have shewed a very great desire to free those people from the inconveniences they labour under, though attended with considerable expence to themselves.

And being asked, Whether several of the proprietors on those coasts do not guard against the servitude of the lower orders of the people, by not only freeing them from services to themselves, but also by preventing the tacksmen from having subtenants?—He said, That he had been assured they do so, and he had no doubt of the fact.

And being asked, Whether he imagined that these regulations tended effectually to remove the evil of which he took notice?—He answered, That he was very  
far

far from imagining they do—That the people on those coasts are hurt chiefly because of the want of an open market, to which the commodities they stand in need of could be sent by merchants from a distance, and in which the articles they have to dispose of might be freely sold, where a competition of merchants could take place; and as, therefore, this inconvenience continues, when they are freed from that species of servitude, equally strong as before; unless some other measures are adopted along with that, he does not apprehend they will be materially benefited by that regulation, however benevolent it may be in the persons who adopt it.

And being asked, Whether he thought it would be a benefit to the lower classes of people, if any of the tacksmen or others were debarred by Law from entering into a contract with these people for obtaining the pre-emption of their fish, &c. as Specified in his Report?—He answered, That so far from thinking it would be a benefit to the people, he should

should think it would prove a material injury to them ; for they have no other possible way of being supplied with the necessaries they want from distant markets, but by the intervention of those persons who keep stores, in the manner described in the Report ; neither have they in general any means of finding money to purchase boats and other necessary apparatus for fishing ; and that unless they were furnished by these store-keepers upon credit, very few of them could engage in the fisheries at all ; and, in the present situation of that country, as they have no other possible way of paying the debts they thus contract, but by the fish they catch, no person would furnish these upon credit, unless they had the pre-emption of them.—That it has been already stated in the Report, that this kind of trade, though apparently very oppressive to the poor in all cases, affords but very little profit to the merchants ; and that he knew several instances where the people who keep those stores, by acting in a disinterested manner,

manner, have contributed very essentially to promote the welfare of the country; But as this depends entirely upon the temper of the person who follows this kind of trade, there being no competitors at hand, there are too many instances where the people suffer all the inconveniences that have been stated in his Report; and therefore he considered the evils there mentioned, as necessarily arising out of the state of the country, and not at all from the oppressive disposition of the people.

And being asked, Whether, in case those restraints were taken off, it might not be an inducement to merchants to settle there, who might furnish the people with materials upon better terms than their landlords, and thereby encourage the fisheries?—He said, That in the present situation of those countries, it is impossible for any person to engage in any kind of trade, but those who reside continually on the spot; the habitations being so detached from each other, and the sales so slow, that a constant attendance during



during the whole year, is absolutely necessary——That the demand from one place is so extremely trifling, as not to give room to the smallest degree of competition; and therefore, were these restraints taken off, it would not, of itself, in his opinion, operate as an inducement for any stranger to come and settle among them.

2.

AND being asked, Whether, till of late years, the best fishing on the north-west coast of Scotland, was not always in November and December? and whether the herrings caught at that time of the year, do not find a preference at market before the summer-fish, on account of their size?—He answered, He did not know that the fishing was for any number of years confined to the months of November and December; but he knew that there are very great variations in that respect: He also knew, that it is much easier to cure herrings in the winter-months, than in the summer-months; but he did not know that the size of the fish

fish is in any respect connected with the season of the year in which they are caught—That last season, when he was upon the coast, both large and small fish were caught in different places at the same time, and the small fish were much better in quality than the large—That for two or three years past, the fishing on the coast of Ireland, has been usually in November or December; yet there was a very abundant fishery there last year, in July and August; so that he presumes no regularity has been observed in that respect. \*

And being asked, Whether it is possible, in the months of November and December, to fish for herrings in the deep sea; and whether a winter-fishery must not always be a loch-fishery?—He said, If by deep sea it is understood those seas that lie between the Long-island and the main land usually called the Minch, he does not think it impossible to fish in winter after the Dutch method; but that he is not at all acquainted with the other seas, not having been in them.

D d

And

\* See Appendix, No. 3.

And being asked, Whether small boats could pass to different parts of the coasts in the winter-months, to seek for herrings? or whether the fishing by small boats only, must not be confined to the inhabitants on the side of the lochs where the herrings set in?—He answered, That small boats fit for herring-fishing, can doubtless pass, and actually do at present pass from place to place along the coast, at any season of the year, when the weather is not stormy; but in the present situation of the country, were the people to go in open boats, they could not carry on the fishery during the winter-season, because they would have no places to shelter themselves during the night—If that inconvenience were removed, he saw nothing to prevent these boats from fishing at that season, and in any seas that the boats belonging to the busses at present can ever be employed. \*

And

\* The following question and answers stand in the Report of the Committee of Fisheries, viz.—And being asked, Whether the busses are not now small enough for the winter-fishery?—He said, He was very well satisfied, that

And being asked, Whether small boats, such as have been used in the fishery, can go in quest of shoals of herrings, or whether they must not wait till the herrings come upon the coast?—He said,

Did *a* That

that vessels perhaps larger than many of the busses, could be employed in fishing at sea after the Dutch method, which has been inaccurately taken down, and is therefore omitted. The question (which I cannot pretend to state exactly) enquired, Whether vessels larger than the present busses might not be in danger of being wrecked in those seas during winter?—To this, an explanation of the meaning was asked; and it was observed, That doubtless ships as large as the largest in the Royal Navy, might be lost in these, or any other seas in which they sailed, at any season of the year: But as this question seemed to be foreign to the purpose in hand, it was not meant to be taken down at all. The witness understood it to imply an insinuation, that no vessels smaller than the present busses, could be employed in the winter-fishery; and a wish to have it expressed, that even larger vessels should be employed in that fishery than those now in use.—If this was the meaning of the question, he would answer, That, in his opinion, vessels of a much smaller size than many of the present busses, might be successfully employed in those seas, at all the seasons of the fishery, without pretending to say, whether, in certain circumstances, even larger vessels than the present busses might not be successfully employed in the same fishery: though he rather thinks not.



That small boats could easily go to any place upon the coasts where buffes fitted out upon the present plan ever go in search of herrings.

And being asked, Whether he apprehended that buffes rigged as at present, could fish for herrings in the manner the Dutch now do?—He said, that he had no doubt but they could, though he was not sufficiently informed to speak with certainty upon the subject.

## 3.

AND Dr. Anderson being further examined, was asked, Whether it is his opinion, that the fishery in the British seas can ever be brought to such perfection as that it could be carried on with profit to the undertakers, without any bounties or public aid whatever?—To which he said, He certainly is of that opinion, otherwise he should not have taken the trouble he has done in this business, nor have recommended those exertions for bringing it forward that he has had the honour to propose. He conceives, that if any business is of such a nature as to require

quire the continual aid of public support, it should be abandoned as hurtful to the community; but this, as he conceives, is very far from being the case with the British fisheries.

Being asked, Whether he thought that the fish caught in the British seas, by British subjects, could, in any circumstances, be afforded so cheap, as, without public aid, to bear a fair competition in an open market, with fish of the same kind from Holland, Sweden, Norway, or any other country?—He said, If the question means to apply to fish in general, and is not meant to be confined exclusively to any particular kind, he does, without hesitation, give it as his opinion, That were the people who inhabit the islands and coast of Britain, in such situation and circumstances as to be able to avail themselves to the utmost of the natural advantages they possess, their fish could be afforded cheaper than other fish of equal quality from any other part of the globe; though it is possible, that, in certain circumstances, some particular kinds  
of

of fish may be afforded at as low, perhaps a lower price than they could be afforded by the British fishermen; tho' he does not at present recollect any kind of fish taken in quantities in those seas, to which this observation will apply. The reasons on which he grounds his opinion are as follow:—In most other countries, where any kind of extensive fishery has been hitherto carried on for foreign markets, the fishing season lasts but for a part of the year, so that the people who engage in these fisheries, having no constant employment, cannot afford to sell so cheap as if they had an uninterrupted fishery during the whole year round. In many cases, the fishery is precarious; and in still more cases, the people who follow the fishing, being at a great distance from the fishing-grounds, are subjected to a great expence on the outfit of vessels, and a still greater charge of wages and provisions to the fishermen going and returning from the fishing-grounds. In all these respects, Britain enjoys an unequalled pre-eminence. The variety of  
fish

fish which swim on her coasts, is such as puts it in the power of the natives to follow that business with success throughout every day in the year that a vessel can go to sea; and the fishing-grounds are so near, and in other respects so convenient, as to render it possible even for a small boat to follow the fishing of one kind or another from day to day. This puts it in the power of people in the lowest ranks of life to become competitors with others, and thus bars all kind of monopoly in this article.—Hitherto, however, it must be owned, that our fishery has been carried on by means of encouragement so little adapted to the nature of our situation, or the circumstances of our people, as to preclude us from availing ourselves of those advantages; so that we have scarcely come to have an idea of what those local advantages are.

It being then stated to the Witness, That he has in his Report described several alternatives as to bounties and other encouragements, that might, as he thinks,



thinks, be adopted by the British Legislature, for giving a temporary encouragement to the fisheries. He was desired to state to the Committee, the specific measures that he thinks would be the most effectually, and in the shortest time, put that fishery into such a train as that it could afterwards go on of itself, without any public aid whatever:—To which he answered, That he begged the Committee would always bear in mind, that he considers bounties and premiums as only of secondary importance in bringing about the object here in view. The thing that he considers of the first importance, is to bring the people of those distant regions from that dispersed situation in which they now live, into close communities, where they can exercise commerce and arts, and mutually give and receive aid from the industrious exertions of each other. Unless this be first done, he conceives it is altogether impossible ever to make the fisheries on our coast be a matter of great importance, or to bring the fish to market

ket so cheap as to enable the undertakers to go on without public aid. From this consideration, he conceives, that till such measures are adopted, bounties and premiums for the fisheries must be accounted in a great measure an useless expenditure of the national treasure, which he should not be willing, unless in particular circumstances, to advise.

The natural progression in this case seems to be this:—Before the people of these countries at large can engage heartily in the fishery, and follow that as their chief employment, they must be brought together into some close society—Before they can live comfortably in towns, they must have coals at as moderate a price as possible—Before they can feel the enlivening influence of a spirit of industry, they must be rendered in some measure independent—And before they can engage in the fisheries with a reasonable prospect of success, they must be allowed a perfect freedom in buying and selling salt and fish of all kinds on the coasts, without any sort of restraint whatever.

Hence

Hence he holds it as a circumstance of indispensable necessity, in the first place, to repeal all the laws at present existing as to salt, and, in their stead, to give entire freedom in this respect, without exacting either duty of any kind, or bonds on this necessary article—Unless this is to be done, here we may stop; for, without it, nothing effectual can ever be done for establishing our fisheries. The home-market should also be opened for our own fish, free from duty or restraints of any kind; and the debenture at present allowed on the exportation of fish, be continued for some time.

Coals should also be admitted to be carried coastways duty-free, and rock-salt from Liverpool; as, without these particulars, the fishing establishments must ever be exceedingly languid, in comparison of what they otherwise might have been.

These two heavy restraints being removed, let the people be induced to come into towns, by granting to each family, in the first instance, and to their heirs

heirs for ever, a small spot in each town sufficient for a house and garden, which would render their possession perfectly secure—And to put it in their power to earn their bread, and become independent of every thing save their own industrious exertions for support, let a boat, and the necessary fishing-apparatus, be given *gratis* to each six men who chose to engage in the fisheries as their chief employment.—This is a species of gratuity, which, by being given once only, produces a very extensive influence at a small expence, and will be in other respects attended with the happiest effect, by exciting a great deal of industry, which, but for this small aid, must have been suppressed for ever.

When the people are thus placed in a situation to begin the fishing, and to carry it on with economy, certain bounties and premiums will be of great use for some years at the beginning, with a view to lead them in some measure into a proper train of fishing, and to give an additional spur to their industry.

That



That the reason for recommending this measure may be understood, it is necessary to premise, that fish may be caught in those seas, either by pretty large vessels, which are able to keep the sea at a considerable distance from land; or in small boats, that dare not conveniently go to a great distance from shore. It is hard to say at present, which of those two kinds of fishings could be carried on with most advantage to the undertakers, and consequently to the public: But as the boat-fishing is the only one which the poor natives of distant places can begin with, and as the richer inhabitants of towns at a distance from the fishing-ground, can carry on their operations best with larger vessels; and as it should be our study to engage as many in this business as can be profitably employed therein, we should encourage both these kinds of fishing, especially when we advert that they may be so conducted, as mutually to prove beneficial to each other, instead of enter-

ing

ing into a hurtful rivalship, as some might apprehend, was probable.

Hitherto the fishing on the north-west coast of Scotland, has been chiefly carried on by adventurers from towns at a distance, by the aid of large vessels, in such a way as subjects the undertakers to a great and very unnecessary expence, and therefore obliges them to require a very high price for their fish, to save themselves from bankruptcy.—From places within the Mull of Cantire, many vessels are sent out annually, in the months of July and August, to the herring-fishery, in which they are employed for the most part till the months of December and January: they then return to port, and are laid up, or employed in the coasting trade, till the following fishing-season in July returns.—In either case, the whole fishing-hands are discharged, and become a heavy burthen on their friends or families during those six months of idleness; for, it is plain they must either have as much pay during the time they are employed, as to maintain them when idle,

idle, or be reduced to a state of extreme indigence during that period. A vessel on the fishery, requires an extra number of hands for that business. To navigate a vessel of eighty tons burthen, four men, or at most four men and a boy, are sufficient; but, for a buss of the same burthen, eighteen men are necessary. Such a vessel, therefore, even if she should be employed in the coasting-trade during the intervals of fishing, must discharge at least thirteen hands.—On the other hand, several vessels are annually fitted out from Peterhead, and other towns on the east coast, early in the spring, to prosecute the fishery for cod and ling; in which business they continue till the months of June and July, when they return to port, discharge their fishing-hands, and lay up their vessels, or employ them, if they can, in the coasting-trade—Thus are one set of hands laid entirely idle during one season of the year, and another set of hands laid idle during another season of the year, while the other are busily employed; so  
that

that if the present persons were acquainted with both kinds of fishing, both parties might have found full employment during the whole year, and the vessels never be laid up at all. This want of economy is great and obvious, and loudly demands a remedy.

It deserves farther to be observed on this head, that in both cases above mentioned, the large vessels that go on the fishing-business, are not employed to catch fish at sea; they only carry boats, &c. with them, which they hoist out when they come to the fishing-ground, and with these boats carry on all the operations of fishing: so that till this moment, we have no other fishery but that of boats, on any part of our coasts; and we of course are not enabled to avail ourselves of the advantages that might be derived from those fisheries a little off the coast, were we to follow it in larger vessels.

The best fishing-banks for cod and ling round the Shetland coast, are at a considerable distance from land; so that  
on



on all occasions, much time is wasted in going and returning in these open boats, which greatly enhances the price of fish there caught; and when the weather is squally, they are often detained at land, when they might have been employed at the fishing, if they had made use of larger vessels, fit to keep the sea in such weather; and when it happens that these open boats are overtaken by a sudden storm at sea, they are in danger of being overset, and in this way many lives have been lost in those regions.

To remedy, in some measure, those evils that originate from the last-mentioned circumstance, some of the adventurers in the fisheries on those coasts have of late sent out decked vessels, to accompany the boats as tenders or guard-vessels, to which the people in the boats can occasionally retire for shelter in case of urgent danger; but though the lives of the men are sometimes thus saved, the boats, being towed behind the vessels in a stormy sea, are frequently dashed to pieces against each other, or sunk: So  
that,

that, from every view of the matter, this appears to be a very expensive and inadequate remedy for the evil it was meant to redress.

From all these considerations, the Witness hopes it will appear very obvious, that before the fishery can be carried on with advantage, either in deep seas, or on banks at a distance from land, the people engaged in that business, must employ some kind of stout vessels, that can remain for a considerable length of time at sea, and weather occasional storms, and by themselves, without the aid of boats, there carry on the fishery in a proper and economical manner.

The only vessels that have hitherto been discovered, that can possibly be employed for these purposes, are such as are wherry-rigged; for, with such vessels only, can the sails be worked with the facility that is necessary on these occasions; and with such a rigging alone, can a vessel of any considerable burthen be so worked as to be capable of shooting and hauling a long line under the

E c

easy

easy management of a foresail, so as not to break and destroy the lines. The use of these vessels is well known by the fishers of London, Yarmouth, and other places on the east coast of Britain, where fishing with the long line is practised to a considerable extent at a distance from land, as also by the fishermen from Rush, and several other towns on the north-west coast of Ireland: And their superiority in this respect over every other kind of vessel, and indeed the absolute necessity of employing them if even this kind of sea-fishery shall be attempted, is universally admitted by every person the Witness yet conversed with, who understood any-thing of that fishery†. He conceives, therefore, if

any  
 † The great advantage that would be derived from the use of wherries in the line-fishery on the coast of Shetland, is clearly proved by a paper from Cape Kyd, inserted in the Appendix to the Third Report of the Committee of Fisheries, No. 9.—He there states, that eight wherries manned by sixty-four men, caught, in one season, on the coast of Shetland, 1536 quintals, which is sixteen quintals and one-half each hand: At the

any bounties are to be given, that no one kind of bounty could be so beneficial, as one calculated to introduce the use of these vessels on those parts of the coast where they are not now generally employed with the greatest advantage: And this he would the rather recommend, from his being assured, on the most undoubted authority, that vessels so rigged, are as proper for every kind of fishery that can be carried on in those seas, as any other, and can be navigated with as great safety, and at as little expence, for other purposes, as any kind of vessel whatever. The great object he aims at, is to enable the undertakers to engage, without any change of vessels or hands, in any kind of fishery that may take place at any time on those coasts—whether that shall be the herring-fishery at

E c 2

sea,

the same time, the proprietors and others in Shetland employed about 500 boats, and 2,400 fishermen, by whom were caught 11,544 quintals, which is at the rate of four quintals and eight-pennths each hand: So that every person in the wherries caught as many fish nearly as four men in the boats.



sea, after the Dutch method; the cod and ling-fishing on distant banks at sea, by means of long lines; the cod-fishing on shallow banks, or in strong currents, at the turn of tide, by means of hand-lines; the dog-fishing at sea, by means of hand-lines; or, in short, any other kind of fishery that promised to turn out to the profit of the undertakers: all which could be performed by these vessels, and by vessels of this particular construction only.

These useful vessels, however, being at present forbid by Law to be employed in Britain, unless under a special licence from the Board of Admiralty, should by Law be allowed to be employed in the fishery, the owners giving bond at the custom-house not to employ them in smuggling, under such penalties as shall be judged expedient.

It has been objected to this proposal, that nothing but very large vessels can fish without boats, after the Dutch method, at sea. This is a mistake: what is called the *drave*-fishery at Eymouth, has been

been carried on for several years past in large open boats, after the Dutch method; and at Harwich and Yarmouth, the fishery for mackarel and herring, which is all done in the Dutch manner, is performed by vessels between twenty and fifty tons burthen: Nor is there any reason to prevent a vessel from the size of the smallest boat to that of the largest buss, from fishing after the same manner, if it should be thought right by those to whom the vessel belonged.

It has been said, large vessels could not fish with safety in narrow seas:—which is true; but large vessels could go to open seas, small boats to shallow bays proper for them, and vessels between these sizes to seas adapted to their size, and fit to cope with the weather that may be there looked for.

It has been said, no herrings could be caught between the Long-Island and the Main, till the months of November and December.—The fact is denied: He himself found that sea full of herrings last year, in the months of July and August; and

and he was assured by the natives of those coasts, that seldom a year passed when that was not the case.

It has been said, that vessels fishing in stormy weather, would run the risk of being lost:—Which no person can doubt: But, where is the necessity of fishing in stormy weather?

The Witness further said, That he thinks it would be proper that a bounty of forty shillings a ton *per annum*, should be granted to all wherry-rigged vessels from fifteen to sixty tons burthen, not excluding vessels above that size, but restricting the highest bounty to sixty tons, fitted out from any port in Britain, and properly equipped for the fishery, which should follow that business in any part of the British seas, or among the islands, or upon the coasts hereafter mentioned, *viz.* between the Mull of Galloway on the west coast, and Inverness on the east coast, including all the British Islands and Northern Seas; but not including any part of the coasts to the southward of the two places above named—because,

cause, in the southern districts of Britain, many vessels of the kind here alluded to, are now profitably employed in the fisheries, for supplying London, and other large towns in Britain, with fresh fish; so that there, no encouragement to introduce them is wanted. At the same time, the inhabitants of those districts, if they choose to send their vessels into those seas, are not precluded from reaping the benefit of the bounty.—If particular encouragement is wanted to the herring-fishery in the Frith of Forth, or Yarmouth, particular regulations should be made for that purpose, suited to their situation, of which he, the Witness, is not a judge: It is plain, the general plan here proposed, could not apply to them.

That every vessel fitted out on this bounty, should be provided with a hawser, of at least *eighty* fathoms in length, for a vessel of fifteen tons, and *one hundred* fathoms more for every five tons above that; with an apparatus for letting off and taking in this hawser, after the Dutch method of fishing; and shall



shall have at least *the* fathoms of nets, each net to be *the* fathoms deep, for a vessel of fifteen tons, and *the* fathoms more for every five tons above that; and shall also be provided with at least *the* fathoms of fishing-lines, with hooks in proportion, for a vessel of fifteen tons burthen, and *the* fathoms more for each five tons above that; and shall have at least nine hands on board all the time they are out upon the bounty.

And the Witness farther said, That in filling up the above blanks, he would strongly recommend moderation. The only intention of having any restriction at all is, to oblige persons to carry out such an apparatus as to put it in their power to try those modes of fishing, fairly, that appear most likely to turn out to their advantage, but by no means to load them with an unnecessary expence on useless apparatus. If, upon trial, they should find any particular apparatus peculiarly advantageous, they will, if left to themselves, encrease that apparatus *much*

much as necessary; and if they should find it unprofitable, they should not be obliged to expend great sums on that useless apparatus.—And the Witness added, That, for these reasons, were he capable to determine precisely what should be the exact amount of the articles above specified, he would recommend that they should not be obliged to carry above one-half of that quantity at most; and perhaps were it not in deference to the prevailing mode that has hitherto been adopted in cases of this kind, he should think one-fourth part a much better proportion.

That he thinks a vessel should be at liberty to enter at any time upon this bounty, and to clear out at any port of Great Britain, when the master should declare that the vessel is to proceed to the British fishery, from that day, in some of the seas above mentioned, there to prosecute that business with diligence and assiduity, for twelve calendar months from that date; and should also enter into a bond, with sureties, that during that period,

period, he will not engage in smuggling, or commit any voluntary fraud, with intent either to injure the revenue, or any person, under the penalty of forfeiting treble the amount of the bounty: And further, that he should be required to keep a regular journal of all transactions and observations made during the time of his voyage; which journal should be delivered up to the customhouse when the bounty is claimed, and before that bounty can be paid: the bond should continue in force for three years from the date thereof, *in respect to the particulars hereafter mentioned*; that is to say, In case the master or owner of the vessel, after such entry made, shall find it convenient to desert the fishery before the end of the season, and to follow any other lawful employment, it should be in the option of the said owner or master so to do; and thus voluntarily to abandon the bounty, upon giving regular notice at any customhouse that he is so to do; and in that case, he should not be under any obligation to deliver in a journal of his  
pro-

proceedings, or to instruct that he has followed the fishery with diligence: But, as much greater liberty must be given to those vessels than others, in respect to buying and selling fish and other articles in those seas, and in taking on shore different articles of the produce and manufactures of those countries, it is necessary that such parts of the bond as relate to smuggling and voluntary frauds, should remain in full force till the bond run out, in as far as related to trespasses committed while the vessel was on her fishing voyage, and no longer.

When any such vessel should have finished her year upon the bounty, it should be in the option of the master to go into any port he pleased, where there was a customhouse; and, on producing his clearance at entry, and his journal, there to enter anew for the ensuing year, if he chose it; and also to obtain either the bounty-money, or a debenture for that purpose, from the officers of the customs there. But if, from the journal, or other circumstances, these customhouse



house officers should see cause to suspect that the master has been loitering, or faultily negligent in the discharge of his duty, the payment of the bounty may be delayed till an answer can be returned from the Board of Customs relative to this head, provided that this delay shall in no case exceed the space of six weeks, unless a specific charge should be made to the captain by that time, and a list of the witnesses to be adduced in proof of the facts, if a process should be commenced for the recovery of the bounty: And if, upon trial, such culpable negligence should be proved, the bounty for that time should be forfeited, but no other penalty incurred; the higher penalties of the bond only to be incurred in case a proof can be brought of smuggling, with the connivance or approbation of the owner, or part owner of the vessel, or of some wilful and intentional fraud. It ought also to be stipulated, that in case of a stoppage, the customhouse officers should, within three days at farthest from the time of the demand of the bounty

bounty being made, inform the master of such stoppage, and write to the Board of Customs on that business within that time, if the course of the post admits of it.

The vessels sailing on this bounty, should be at liberty to buy or sell fish of all kinds, from British fishermen, or inhabitants of Britain, on their declaring them to be British caught fish; and to take them on board at sea, or otherways, under the restrictions after mentioned, or to put them on shore wherever they shall find convenient, without any customs house clearance: Nor should they be prohibited from taking on board, or putting on shore, salt, or other small articles of the produce or manufacture of the country, so as that this kind of traffic does not appear to have become a principal object of their voyage; and in general, that they should be at liberty to prosecute the fishery in those seas, with all the freedom that can tend to diminish their expence, and in a fair way to augment the profits of the undertakers.

Under

Under these encouragements, the use of these wherries would become general in those seas. The fishery for herrings in deep water, and the line-fishery with stout vessels on distant banks, would become generally known, and employment would be given to the same hands throughout the whole of the season; which must tend greatly to diminish the expence with which the fishery is loaded at present, and to remove one very great evil, of which all the undertakers in the herring-fishery at present loudly complain, namely, the want of employment for so many of their people during many months each year, which not only obliges the owners to give more wages, than otherwise would be necessary, and keeps the people very poor, but also subjects those persons who are thus out of employment, to the temptation of engaging in smuggling and other illicit practices, which they never would have thought of, unless they had been idle.

And the Witness added, That he should only observe further on this head, That

the

the bounty here proposed, needs not preclude the bounty at present payable on herring-busses; which, if it shall be judged expedient, may be continued under such new regulations as the abolition of the salt-duties might render necessary: And he apprehends, that though these bounties should be continued for some time, the advantages above specified, in favour of the wherries, would be such as gradually to induce the present buss-owners to enter voluntarily into that line of business, in preference to the other, so as to give them much more extensive employment, and much higher profits, with less national expence, than they ever can obtain upon the plan of bounties that have hitherto been adopted.

The vessels employed as above, would tend very much to encourage the fishery carried on by poor people in boats along the coast, as these vessels, in their cruises, would find it for their profit to purchase from the poor fishermen, at reasonable prices, such kinds of fish as they had ready for market at the time, which  
would



would prove a powerful spur to the industry of these poor people, and allow them to follow their business in tranquillity, without deranging their economy, by going in quest of a market, and by being certain of having these vessels at hand, upon the fishing-banks, to which they could fly for shelter in case of being overtaken by a storm, boats might safely venture farther to sea than they dare do at present. And he desired that the Committee would here please take notice of the benefit that would result to all parties, from the establishment of towns and customhouses in various parts of those coasts, for, to those towns in the near neighbourhood, could such vessels quickly repair, to unlade such fish, ~~and~~ as they had obtained, and to procure such articles as they were in want of, and without loss of time be in the midst of the fishing-ground. A vessel, in these circumstances, might frequently put a shore one lading, and obtain another, perhaps two or three others, in less time than she could go to those distant ports  
blow from

from whence they are at present fitted out, and return again to the fishing-ground: Such towns, therefore, are indispensibly necessary, if ever we wish to be able to carry fish to market at a reasonable price.

To lay a sure foundation for a farther encouragement to the boat-fishery on these coasts, and to render practicable some necessary regulations for promoting industry and good order, the whole coasts before mentioned, including the islands, should be divided into a certain number of districts, and to each district a particular name should be appropriated: And it should be also ordered by Law, under certain penalties, that every boat that shall be employed in the fishery, should be regularly numbered in each district, and should have the name of the district, the name of the owner, or principal owner, and the number of the boat, marked in legible characters on each boat, so that there may be no difficulty in identifying them for any purpose that may be wanted.

F f

That

That it should be required by Law, that on all barrels in which herrings or other fish shall be cured, shall be marked in legible characters, by a burning iron, the name of the district, the name of the owner, and the number of the boat, or other vessel, by which the fish were caught or cured. This regulation would at least tend to render the curers of fish more attentive to the business than at present; as it would not only subject them to such penalties as it may be thought proper to impose on those who shall offer fish for sale that are not properly cured, but also would give those who are careful, and particularly well-skilled in the sorting, curing, and packing their fish, an opportunity of being benefited by their care and skill, by obtaining a higher price, or more ready sale for their fish than others. This they cannot do at present; and it is chiefly owing to this circumstance, as he apprehends, that, in many cases, the curing of fish in Britain is so much inferior to what it might be. Possibly other regulations

tions on this head might be useful; but he is so much afraid of throwing restraints in the way of industry, and setting bounds to the exertions of genius, that he should very much hesitate before he advanced farther.

As a further inducement to industrious exertions, let a set of premiums be appropriated annually to the ten boats in each district, which should prove that they had caught the greatest value of fish during the preceding year, in proportion to the size of the boat, and number of men employed therein; that is to say,

To the First best fished boat,	L.	40	0	0
Second ditto,	-	20	0	0
Third ditto,	-	10	0	0
Fourth ditto,	-	8	0	0
Fifth ditto,	-	6	0	0
Sixth ditto,	-	5	0	0
Seventh ditto,	-	4	0	0
Eighth ditto,	-	3	0	0
Ninth ditto,	-	2	10	0
Tenth ditto,	-	1	10	0
<hr/>				
	L.	100	0	0
F f 2			These	



These premiums to be ascertained by a jury of respectable persons in each district, upon the first Monday of June annually.

In order to prevent frauds as much as possible, in competing for these premiums, and otherways, let it be required by Law, that no boat, or other vessel, shall sell or give over to any other boat, or other person at sea, or otherwise, (unless in a retail way, as at market), under a certain penalty, any kind of fish, or other articles the produce of the fisheries, above the value of

to one person at a time, without obtaining a written receipt from the person to whom they are delivered; in which receipt shall be specified, the name and designation of the purchaser, the time when and place where delivered, the number of the boat, name of the owner, and that of the district to which the boat belonged from which the fish were purchased, with the quantity of fish, and price paid for them. These receipts and accompts (in which accompts shall be par-

particularly specified, the whole quantities of fish either bought or sold during the former year, entered in a regular journal, with the names of the buyers, or of the persons to whom sold, unless in retail at market) to be given in in a public manner to the jury, and to be sustained as evidence in competing for the premiums; a copy of which journal, any person desiring it, may be at liberty to take: But if it shall appear that these accompts are in one article false, the person who has thus falsified the accmpt, shall be excluded from obtaining any premium for that time.

And with a view further to guard against frauds, let it be ordered, That in case it shall be discovered at any time after a premium has been paid, that any fraud or unfair means has been taken for obtaining it, the person who so obtained that premium, shall be rendered incapable of competing for any other premium ever afterwards.

To give a still greater stimulus to the exertions of industry, let another set of premiums be distributed annually

to

to the ten boats, which, in proportion to their size, and the number of men, should be found to be the most successful in the whole of the districts on the coast. These premiums to be determined at Edinburgh each year, on the first Monday of August, by the Trustees for Fisheries, &c. from the returns of the quantities, and value of fish caught by the boats obtaining all the premiums in each of the districts: Such returns being required to be made to them for this purpose, immediately after the distribution of the premiums of the districts. These premiums to be—

For the First best,	L. 200	0	0
Second ditto,	100	0	0
Third ditto,	80	0	0
Fourth ditto,	60	0	0
Fifth ditto,	50	0	0
Sixth ditto,	40	0	0
Seventh ditto,	30	0	0
Eighth ditto,	20	0	0
Ninth ditto,	12	0	0
Tenth ditto,	8	0	0
<b>Total</b> -	<b>L. 600</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>

In

In consequence of this arrangement, it must happen that a few poor industrious men, without friends or powerful connections of any kind, would receive at once the amazing sum of L. 240; the hope of obtaining which, would excite a degree of vigour and exertion, of which it is difficult to form an idea. Thousands of persons would look up to this as to a prize in the lottery, which was to confer wealth and independence on themselves and their posterity for ever. It would be a lottery, however, the prize of which could only be obtained by labour, perseverance, and skill:—It would be a lottery, too, of such a kind as would not tend to impoverish, but rather to enrich the unsuccessful adventurers, as they would be benefited by their own exertions, even though they had not reached the top of the scale; and each individual might indulge the enlivening hope, that though he had not been the most successful this season, yet that, in consequence of more vigorous exertions, aided by the superior skill he had acquired  
by



by practice, he might obtain the prize next year. In this way, therefore, a very small sum of money excites an amazing deal of industry, and thus produces the most beneficial effects upon the community.

The Gentlemen of the Committee will please also here advert to the consequences that will naturally result to the community afterwards from the money thus obtained. In this way, a great addition will be made to the capital of those fishermen, whose practical knowledge of that business is the greatest; and to those men, who, from having been successful in that business, have the greatest desire to prosecute it with vigour: consequently it will happen, that every shilling of that money will be applied to the farther improvement of the fisheries,—and applied with the utmost œconomy, in that very way that is calculated to produce the greatest effect possible. Men who began with small boats, will thus be enabled to obtain larger vessels of the kind, which experience

ence proves to be the best. In this manner, though, at first sight, our plan seemed calculated only to encourage the boat-fishery, yet it now appears to be well calculated to promote the fishery in larger vessels, if experience shall prove that those are the most useful. By this mode of procedure, knowledge always precedes the outlay of capital; and by consequence, that capital will always be laid out with that judicious caution which effectually ensures success. A gradual progression from small to great, is thus established; which, when once fairly begun, can scarcely be interrupted in its progress\*.

That

\* One of the greatest objections to all the plans that have hitherto been adopted for prosecuting the British fisheries, is, that they all lead to a wasteful carelessness in the hands employed, and unthrifty expenditure of stock and provisions through the whole course of the business, which loads the undertaking with a heavy expence, that must be returned by the high price of fish sold, or the business be abandoned with loss. This evil would be entirely and effectually removed by the mode of procedure here proposed. Every individual being himself at the whole expence of his own outfit, and being entitled to draw the full value for his share of

That industry may be kept awake, and emulation excited in these larger vessels,

of the fish caught, has every inducement that can be devised, for the strictest frugality in the outlay of every farthing in the outfit, and for carefully preserving from waste the smallest article that can be turned to account. The difference between a manufacture carried on upon the one or the other of these plans, is infinite; and the impossibility of ever bringing it into practice in our huss-fishery, has ever been considered as one of the chief causes of our want of success in that business.

The only place I know of in the British dominions where this is strictly practised, is among the wherries fitted out from Rush, and some other places on the north of Ireland, (if my information respecting them can be depended on), and the fishers in some large fishing villages on the borders of the Murray-Firth, and other parts on the east of Scotland: and their success in every undertaking they embark in, when compared with that of others, sufficiently proves the unequalled propriety of the plan. The boats that prosecute the herring-fishery in Lochfyne, are fitted out somewhat after the same manner,—but here the seeds of corruption have been sown, the principle is debased, and the efforts proportionally weakened.

Many years ago, I was informed, the boats in Lochfyne, and about Campbellton and that neighbourhood, were entirely navigated by owners only: nor had any other person a share in these boats, but the men only who fished in them.—This is what I consider as the most

vessels, it would also be right to appropriate another set of premiums, on the same

most perfect mode possible for carrying on the business economically; and every deviation from it, is, in that respect, a deterioration. When the buss-fishery commenced, such a large capital was wanted, as could not be commanded by the operators themselves who were to carry on the operations; and they could be fitted out only by men of considerable stock, who ventured that capital in this business on speculation, trusting in a great measure to the bounty, for indemnification, and hiring servants for carrying on the menial offices belonging to this business: and every man knows, that on such a plan, a strict economy cannot possibly be practised.

No sooner was the idea adopted, of laying out money on ships for profit, by those that were not fishermen, than it came to be applied to boats.—Moneyed men built boats in the stile of the Irish wherries, to be employed in the white fishery, and other fisheries throughout the year; and obtained fishermen, who were willing to assign a certain proportion of their gains for the use of the vessel. Nine men, as I was told, was the usual compliment of these vessels; but instead of dividing the whole produce of the fisheries into nine equal shares, as was the case when all were equal owners of the boat, it then was divided into eleven shares, two of which went to the owner of the boat for his share, and the other nine shares were divided among the *pennymen*, as they were then called, equally. These pennymen finding each his own hooks and lines, and other fishing apparatus, as well as provisions, without encroaching on the boat's share.

While



same plan, to those vessels from fifteen tons and upwards, that were employed in

While things remained in this situation, all went on tolerably well: for, though the workmen's profits were somewhat diminished, these were still sufficient; and as little or no stock was necessary for the fishers themselves, there was no difficulty in finding persons ready to engage in the business, and monied men found no difficulty in increasing the proportion assigned to their boat's share. The first innovation they attempted, was to stipulate, that besides the two shares assigned for their boat, they should be allowed farther to put in *one* hired man along with the eight *pennymen*, to whom they paid wages, and furnished lines and other fishing apparatus, and provisions, as each of the *pennymen* did for themselves; and they, in consequence of that, became entitled to receive his ninth share of the produce of the fishery.

Matters went on now worse than before, but still tolerably well; and the owners of the boats finding that their profit on this hired man so put in was very great, being usually about three pounds (frequently, as I was told, six pounds) clear profit, after paying all expences for a fishing of three or four months, they became anxious to have still a greater share in the venture. The fishermen having no boats of their own, were at their mercy; and the boat-owners, as is usual in all such cases, grasped at as much gain as was possible. They insisted on putting in *two* hired men along with seven *pennymen*. This point they carried. The profits on each share

in the fisheries, within the districts aforesaid. One set of premiums on the whole coasts,

share decreased, because of the indolence, &c. of the hired men—the pennymen became poor, and exerted themselves less vigorously—more hired men were put in upon them—the employment of a *pennyman* became no longer a lucrative one—they gradually deserted it, the owners of the vessels willingly substituting hired men in their stead, reckoning, that their profits would be increased in proportion to their number. By degrees, the business was entrusted entirely to hired men—the profits decreased—loss was afterwards sustained—and the business, in that train, was at length entirely abandoned.

Such was the history of the progress and decline of a white-fishery that was formerly carried on about Campbelton, on the plan of the Irish wherries, as I had it from an old experienced fisherman of that place; and it affords a lesson full of instruction, on which any comment is unnecessary.

The herring-fishery in Lochfyne, is to this day carried on pretty nearly on the same plan as that I have marked above, in the *second* stage of the progress. Monied men frequently furnish the boats, and draw their share; but as this fishery is much more precarious than the white-fishery, it does not admit of the same abuse. An unsuccessful season, even as things now are circumstanced, is in danger of driving away the *pennymen*, and of thus rendering the boats useless to their owners: they must, therefore, be treated with

coasts, would be enough for this purpose, and these might be as follow, viz.

To

with greater delicacy. Thus has it happened, that the profits on one fishery being steady and too high, have gradually wrought its ruin; while the other, which was more precarious, and the less desirable of the two, has been preserved. This affords an explanation of one of the many seeming paradoxes we so frequently meet with in our researches of this kind.

Among the western islands, the boats are in general furnished by the tacksmen, or proprietors; but, instead of drawing a settled proportion of the fishery for their share, they usually stipulate, as I was told, a fixed allowance for the boat, and take the people bound to sell their fish to none but those who furnish the boat, at stipulated prices. In Shetland, the same practice prevails; and, in both cases, the rent demanded for the land occupied by the fishermen, must be accounted a tax upon the fisheries, which tends wonderfully to depress the people, and make their exertions extremely languid.

It has been my study, in the plan recommended, to guard as much as possible against all these inconveniences; and I should wish to see the idea of monied men furnishing boats with a view to profit, entirely dropped, along all these coasts: as this must ever operate in one of two ways, which are nearly equally destructive to the fisheries,—either to keep the *penny-men*, as they are there called, very poor and dependent,—or to banish them entirely, and to introduce hired men in their stead.

But,

To the First best fished, in proportion to its size, and the number of persons employed in it, -	L. 500	0	0
To the Second ditto, -	200	0	0
Third ditto, -	100	0	0
Fourth ditto, -	60	0	0
Fifth ditto, -	40	0	0
Sixth ditto, -	30	0	0
Seventh ditto, -	25	0	0
Eighth ditto, -	20	0	0
Ninth ditto, -	15	0	0
Tenth ditto, -	10	0	0
<hr/>			
Total, -	L. 1000	0	0
In			

But, as it is altogether impossible for the lower classes of fishermen on those coasts to find money to fit out a boat at their own expence, unless these boats shall be at first given to them *gratis*, the fisheries must either stop entirely, or the boats must be furnished by others, on some of the modes above taken notice of: That measure, therefore, seems to be absolutely necessary; and the expence, considered as a national object, is so small as not to be worth regarding.

Should this plan be adopted, those men who now apply their small stocks in equipping boats, and furnishing scanty supplies of necessaries for a miserable people, would find much greater profits, by applying it to forwarding the operations of a brisk commerce that would



In a few years, the bounty on the tonnage, which requires a much greater fund, and is less calculated to promote industry, may be with safety withdrawn, and these premiums continued under such farther restrictions as experience may point out as necessary.

From

would take place, which, by furnishing quick returns, would soon augment their capital; and the fishermen always finding that their profits would be augmented in proportion to their frugality and industry, and being at present accustomed to the greatest moderation in diet and personal expences, these habits of frugality would become universal among them, and would prevail even in those greater enterprises, which would gradually be attempted, as their capitals encreased. It was habits of this kind, acquired nearly in the same manner, that have ever made the Dutch nation so conspicuous for frugality, even long after they have become a wealthy people. I once more repeat it, therefore, that I think it will be the greatest blessing to that country, if every idea of inducing wealthy people to engage in the fisheries should be banished from thence; and that the efforts of those who wish to forward the fisheries, should be confined merely to the putting the poor people into a situation that enabled them to prosecute the fisheries on their own account only; and then suffering them to push forward, just as fast, and no faster than their industrious exertions suffered them to go.

I am

From this description of vessels nothing but fish themselves produced, or receipts for those that have been sold or given away, will be received; and an account must be delivered, upon oath, of all fish, &c. that have been bought from others, specifying the time when bought, the person from whom, the place where, the quantity, kind, and price, (a copy of which account any person desiring it may be at liberty to take; from which vouchers, the value of the fish, will be set on the paper to be given to those who wish to buy them, and each of them.)

I am sensible these ideas are exceedingly different from the opinion entertained by the generality of men on this subject; but as I am myself fully convinced they are founded on the soundest principles, I hold it to be my duty to develop these principles as fully as I can, even at the risk of being accounted tedious and minute. Every man knows, that the greatest support of manufactures of every kind, is a habit of industry and frugality among the people who engage in them; and that thousands of attempts to establish new undertakings have failed, merely from the want of these qualifications. But few have turned their thoughts towards the discovery of the causes which tend to produce these habits, or the reverse. My views have been chiefly directed towards this point. I have said that the

Let

&c. caught by each candidate, shall be ascertained. Before payment of the premium, each candidate shall give bond, with sufficient surety, for the amount of the premium, with one-half more to be forfeited in case any frauds in those accounts or vouchers shall be proved within one year from that period; after which time the bond shall be no longer in force. And in case of the forfeiture of any of these bonds, the amount of the original premium thus forfeited, shall be given to the person on the list who stands next below him; and each of those

Let me not here be misunderstood—I hold frugality among the operators, to be of the first importance in manufactures of every kind; and that, in commerce, liberal and extensive ideas, with great and commanding capitals, are the things most requisite.—Far be it from me, therefore, to wish to insinuate, that monied men should not engage in those branches of business which would be dependent on the fisheries: So far from it, that it is from the aid the fisheries would derive from this application of capital, that I think they must chiefly owe their stability. The plan proposed, must be considered in *all* its parts, or it will prove exceedingly defective; and I entreat the Reader, not to lose sight of this circumstance.

those below, to occupy the class which he would have held, had the premium forfeited never been adjudged; and of course, that the lowest premium shall be adjudged, in that case, to the vessel which was highest upon the list of those who did not obtain the premium. With regard to the sum forfeited more than the premium, it shall be divided into as many parts as it will admit of, each equal to the lowest premium; and if any fraction remains, that fraction shall form another share: these shares to be distributed in order, to the vessels which were not gainers, but which stood highest on the list next to those. By this means, it would become the interest of those who were best able to discover frauds, to detect them; and of course, it would be very dangerous to attempt any kind of fraud in these competitions.

As the extension of these fisheries must in a great measure depend on the large demand for fish, it is of much importance that the people should be induced to cure them as carefully as possible.



sible. And with a view to excite a very general attention to this article, let a set of premiums be distributed annually, to the persons who should produce the best sorted and best cured white-herrings, viz.

For the First best sorted and best cured specimen of British caught white-herrings (consisting of one last each specimen)	L. 100 0 0
To the Second ditto,	50 0 0
Third ditto,	40 0 0
Fourth ditto,	30 0 0
Fifth ditto,	25 0 0
Sixth ditto,	20 0 0
Seventh ditto,	15 0 0
Eighth ditto,	10 0 0
Ninth ditto,	6 0 0
Tenth ditto,	4 0 0
	L. 300 0 0

The gainers of each of these premiums to produce to the judges, if they desire it, a particular account of the whole steps in the process of curing the fish, which they may publish, if they shall

shall so incline. And on all occasions, the names of the gainers of these premiums, the district to which they belong, and the number of the vessel marked on the barrels, shall be published in the news-papers.

The curing of white herrings naturally divides itself into two branches, *viz.* that for the home or European market, and that for the West Indies, or other warmer climates; which would require two kinds of process extremely different from each other. For the first, it is wished to preserve the fish as nearly as possible in their natural state, with a rich flavour, and as little taste of salt as is consistent with their sound preservation. In the other case, the acrid taste of the salt is less disgusting to the natives; nor is it imagined, that other acrid substances or spiceries, if they should be found useful in preserving the fish, would be disagreeable to the natives; as high seasoning in warm climates, is necessary and pleasing. Much room is therefore left for ingenuity in both cases.

to

to discover antiseptics that are calculated to preserve the food, and adapt it to the palates of the consumers by a more elegant preparation than any that have been yet discovered. Common salt, tho' a much weaker antiseptic than many others, has been the only substance hitherto employed; yet, for warm climates, pepper and other spiceries, or aromatic plants, the native production of our own fields, which can be obtained very cheap, may be found to have an antiseptic power very great, (some of which are known to be twenty times more powerful as an antiseptic than common salt), and may add greatly to the delicacy of the flavour of this fish to the palates of the natives of warm climates. On the other hand, many substances may be found, which, though possessing a much stronger antiseptic power than common salt, and mildness of taste, if used along with salt in curing provisions, would add to its power, while they in a great measure destroyed its acrid pungency. Sugar acts as an antiseptic at least four times more power-

powerfully than common salt, and at the same time diminishes its pungency to an astonishing degree. Other substances may perhaps be found still cheaper, and better calculated for the purpose of giving an elegant preservation of herrings adapted to the delicate European palates : The premiums above proposed, would excite an attention to these matters ; and if they were alternately appropriated, one year to the curing of herrings for the West-Indian market, and another year to those cured for the European market, one set of premiums would answer both purposes equally well.

Another set of premiums, exactly similar to the above, should be appropriated annually to the ten best specimens of the best cured red herrings. Here also there might be two classes,—one year to be given to the best specimens of those smoked after the Yarmouth method, with oak-wood only ; and another year to the best specimen of red herrings smoked with any other substance that could be easily procured in Britain, or  
even



even dried without smoke. There are many other kinds of fish, which acquire a peculiarly delicate flavour from being cured in the thick smoke arising from particular substances; and it is not at all impossible, but that herrings, by some process

One Mr. Snow, an Englishman, who purchased an estate in the north-west of Ireland, with a view there to prosecute the fisheries, found that cod could be caught in great quantities on that coast during the winter months, but the climate being there so damp, he found great difficulty in getting them properly dried. This induced him to invent a sort of kiln, in which, by means of heated air without smoke, after some trials, he found they could be dried thoroughly, and at a very small expence, without regard to the state of the weather at the time. This kiln, with his other buildings, was pulled down by the natives soon after it was erected; and himself, with his wife and children, made a narrow escape with their lives, their buildings, &c. being entirely destroyed. He afterwards erected another kiln, on the same plan, in the neighbourhood of Dublin, for the inspection of a Committee of Parliament, from which he was soliciting aid. I saw the Report of the Committee on that subject which was as full an approbation of the whole as words could express, so that there is not a doubt, from experiment, as well as from reasoning, that fish may be thus cured, if it ever shall be found necessary.

Stock-

process of the same kind, might become a peculiar delicacy in certain markets. The more general we can make our markets, and the more peculiarly our own, by means of new and elegant preparations,

Stock-fish are made on the coast of Norway without salt: they are dried in the open air during the winter and spring months, till April, after which time no more can thus be properly cured. They are tied by the tails two and two, and hung upon poles exposed to all weather. I have been assured by a gentleman who lived long in that country, that *frost* is not at all necessary for that process, and that they might easily be thus cured in Britain, if it were thought proper.

Among the western islands, the natives, who are often in want of salt when herrings come upon their shore, frequently dry great quantities of herrings without salt, by hanging them upon rods or cords within their barns, which are usually made of wicker-work: And I have been assured, that when the weather is cool and dry, they can be very perfectly thus cured, and afterwards keep very well, and afford a delicate morsel: Possibly, were these dried by the help of heated air without smoke, they would become a favourite article of food, and would be in particular valuable for sea-stores, furnishing fresh food for the seamen in long voyages, when salt meat has become pernicious. Herrings being a fatter and more tasty fish than cod, or other white fish, would probably be far more agreeable to the palate without salt than stock-fish.

parations, the more effectually will the fisheries be encouraged.

On the same principles should be distributed annually, another set of premiums for the best specimens of cured dry cod, ling, tusk, or hake, usually called haberdines—one ton of each to be produced—the premiums to be the same as above—and the same condition required of discovering the process.

Thus it might happen, that the same poor persons who had obtained L. 240 premiums in one year, for being the most successful fishers, might also obtain L. 200 more, for being the most skilful sorters and curers of herrings, and of dried fish; so that one boat's crew might gain in one year L. 440. To persons who perhaps never were masters of ten guineas at one time, such a sum of money, obviously within their reach, must excite a wonderful degree of exertion indeed.

Such are the measures that at present appear to the Witness to be best calculated for effectually, and in the shortest time,

time, putting the fisheries on those coasts into such a train as to go on successfully, without any public aid whatever.

5.

AND Dr. Anderson being asked, Whether he could make a computation of the sum of money that might probably be required to put the fisheries on our own coasts into such a train as to be able afterwards to go on without any further public aid?—He answered, That were the restraints arising from the salt-laws alone entirely removed, it is not at all impossible, but that the fisheries, without any sort of public aid, might be able to go on. But, in that case, the exertions of individuals in these fisheries, must be extremely languid; and it would be very long before it could become an object of great national importance. Should any further encouragement be intended, it would not be difficult to shew what would be the probable effect that would result from the application of any given sum, upon the foregoing plan.

The



The price of the ground to be given in perpetuity to each family; is proposed to be one pound.

Hence, for six families, L. 6 0 0

The price of a boat ready to go to sea, - 5 0 0

The price of nets, lines and hooks, to be given along with it, suppose - 9 0 0

The value of hemp to be given for making more nets, &c. suppose - 4 0 0

Total expence for establishing six families, - L. 24 0 0

Or L. 4 each family. And reckoning five persons on an average to each family, it is exactly sixteen shillings each person.

If it should be supposed, that a number of persons who were to follow other employments than the fisheries, would choose to establish themselves in these places, equal to the number of fishermen (each of which families would cost Government

verment only twenty shillings), it will follow, that, reckoning five to each family, each of these persons would cost four shillings only.—At that rate, for every thousand pounds thus applied, there would be established 400 families, or 2000 persons:—So that L. 5000 a-year applied thus, would settle annually about 2000 families, or 10,000 persons:—This continued for twenty years, would amount to 200,000 persons, not to take in to the account the increase by natural procreation.

Of these 200,000 persons, one-tenth are fishermen, as originally settled—that is, 20,000.—And if it is supposed, that each of these fishermen, on an average, have in these twenty years bred up one son to the business, the whole number reared up by the application of L. 5000 per annum, would, in that period, amount to 40,000.—Of course, supposing L. 10,000 thus applied annually, the number of men thus trained to the sea, would be fourscore thousand.

The

The annual expence of the foremen-  
tioned premiums would be—

To the boats, supposing ten districts at

L. 100 each, is — L. 1000

To the ten best boats on the whole 600

To the wherries 1000

To the best cured white herrings 300

To ditto bleared ditto 300

To ditto dried cod, ling, &c. 300

In all L. 3500

With regard to the bounties on ton-  
age proposed; as the Witness considers  
that to be the most expensive mode of  
granting encouragement, if the effect  
produced be attended to; and as he does  
not conceive that any bounties could be  
wanted, were towns once established on  
the coast, and the natives a little initiated  
into the use of these vessels; these boun-  
ties, after a very few years, might be  
entirely withdrawn. But as their amount  
during these very few years is altogether  
uncertain, every one must be left to form  
the best judgment he can on this head.  
At the rate of thirty shillings per ton,  
the

the bounty on a buss of eighty tons is L. 120, the number of hands is eighteen; of course, the premium paid to each person, is L. 6 : 13 : 4. for three months fishing only. L. 10,000, therefore, thus applied, employs no more than 1515 men, and these only one-fourth part of their time, so as to make them but very imperfect seamen : And should this bounty be continued for twenty years, or for two hundred years, it could not produce a greater number, nor tend to put matters in a train to enable the fisheries ever to go on without the bounty. Whereas, in the method proposed, the same sum of money duly applied, for the same time, would train up eighty thousand men, who, finding constant employment at sea, without any annual support, would be able to go on with the fisheries without any aid, at whatever period Government might think it prudent to withhold any farther encouragement.

In stating to the Committee the effects that may be expected to arise from the proper application of these small sums, the



the Witness is sufficiently aware that these effects will seem so disproportionately great, as almost to exceed belief. He must beg, however, that gentlemen, before they allow themselves to be swayed by such general prepossessions, will attentively examine the facts as stated, and draw the conclusion that unbiassed reason authorises. In moral, as in physical cases, some things are extremely difficult, or altogether impossible, which, by a small variation of circumstances, are rendered perfectly easy. To force water to flow in a certain channel, where the point to which it is to be carried is in the smallest degree above its level, would be a work of infinite difficulty, and great expence.—Perhaps, however, in certain circumstances, labour and expence might force it up for a time; but in that case, the expence must never be interrupted, or the effect must immediately cease.—But if, instead of that unnatural exertion, the channel had been deepened at the end which was originally highest, the expence might in some cases be

be a very trifle, and the current would continue for ever afterwards to flow without ceasing, without care, and without expence. Let us not therefore conclude, that an undertaking cannot be completed because much money has been in vain expended upon it; nor let us imagine, that great sums of money are always required to produce very great effects.

6.

AND the Witness being asked, What number of men he imagines might find constant employment at sea in the prosecution of these fisheries, were they carried to the highest degree of perfection they are naturally and morally susceptible of?—He replied, It is impossible to specify that number with precision. If the quantity of fish to be caught be considered, there seems, in that respect, to be no limits that could be assigned; for, the fish there so much abound, as far to exceed the utmost efforts of man sensibly to diminish their numbers. If, on the other hand, we think of the markets to

H h

which

which they might be carried, and keep in our eye the possible improvements of curing the different kinds of fish which there abound, so as to render them more palatable to different nations, and advert to the very low price at which they might be afforded, were the fisheries carried on with oeconomy upon a large scale, there seems to be as little room for setting bounds to it on that side: So that this seems to be a species of manufacture that admits of being extended to an indefinite degree, and may, in future times, afford employment to a great multitude of people.—He cannot help observing under this head, that it is impossible ever to think on any commercial subject, without reflecting on the deplorable state to which the wretched system of European politics has reduced the inhabitants of the greater part of Africa. Had they been treated in a friendly manner, and civilized, what an extensive market would this have opened for the product of our fisheries, and many other European manufactures! — and how much cheaper might

might they have afforded cotton, and many other productions of warm climates, than we now can buy them! Shall we punish ourselves for ever, by continuing that cruel and wretched policy without end?

By the foregoing computation it seems probable, that by a very small exertion, in the course of a few years, eighty thousand fishermen might be trained to that business. And when it is considered, that above a hundred years ago, it was computed by De Witt, and others, that 260,000 persons were employed by Holland in the fisheries alone, it will not, he presumes, be accounted an extravagant supposition, if it should be admitted, that one hundred thousand fishermen might find constant employment in the British seas: And if that number of fishermen were employed, the mariners necessary for carrying these fish to market, for bringing salt, and coals, and grain, materials for ship-building, casks, and all the various articles dependent on these extensive fisheries, might probably a-



mount to twenty or thirty thousand. Here, then, Government would have all times at hand, a steady body of above 120,000 seamen; out of which body, without any violent exertion, our fleets might be manned on any sudden emergency, with the greatest facility. The observations which crowd upon the mind from this view of the matter, whether we consider the strength and stability the empire would derive from the putting this her natural bulwark on such a respectable footing, or whether we advert to the advantages her trade and manufactures would derive from the absence of war, which would necessarily be occasioned by the respect that would be inspired into neighbouring nations, from the contemplation of these unequalled resources, are so many, and so obvious, as not to require to be here pointed out.

7.

AND being asked, Should those fisheries, and the consequent improvement on the coast, be carried to the perfection

the

the Witness thinks them susceptible of, would not the national revenue be augmented thereby? and if so, what does he think might be the amount of the additional revenue which might be thus obtained?—He answered, That the national revenue would thus be augmented, there can be no doubt:—That that revenue would be thus augmented in a very high degree, seems also to be unquestionable; but what might be the precise amount of that additional revenue, it is impossible now to foresee. In general, whatever adds to the number of the people, or (which is still more essential) whatever puts them into a situation in which they can exercise an active industry that they could not exercise before, augments the amount of all taxes on articles of consumption, and thus renders them more productive, without the aid of new impositions, and *vice versa*. Hence it will appear, that the easiest and best mode of obtaining an additional revenue by a Minister, would be to find out some new and profitable employment for such of the people

people as were not fully employed before.—To see that justice should be impartially administered to all, so that no degree of oppression, either from individuals, or the State, could be felt: and thus not only to encourage the people who are already in the country, to marry and multiply, but also to allure as many more as possible to come from other parts of the world and settle among them.—The measure now recommended has precisely this tendency. There may be found in Britain itself at present, without the aid of foreigners at all, at least half a million of people, who now languish in poverty and indolence. All these people, if properly called forth, might find abundant employment in the fisheries, and would thus in a short time become equally able to pay their proportion of the public taxes, as any other class of British subjects: But it is well known, that in the populous parts of Great Britain, the taxes paid by the people amount to the rate of forty shillings a-head *per annum* nearly. At that rate,

rate, the revenue would be augmented by this arrangement, at least one million *per annum*. Nor would this be a sickly revenue, liable to fluctuation and decay; but it would be an increasing fund, that would grow greater and greater, without trouble or expence, as the prosperity of the people increased.

And here it is proper to take notice, that although, for the sake of distinctness, it has been stated, that a small annual sum should be apparently paid out of the public revenue of this country, for the purpose of promoting these fisheries; yet it now appears, that instead of requiring money to be paid by the other subjects of Britain, for the support of those engaged in this undertaking, there would only be wanted a very small portion of the money that the fisheries themselves would produce, to be applied for some time, for the purposes there specified; and a very large overplus would remain, to be applied to the common exigencies of the State. This undertaking, therefore, not only promises to afford to  
the



the nation a more permanent degree of security than could be derived from the most impregnable fortrefs; but it is a fortrefs that yields a large revenue, which may be applied to the purpose of promoting arts, agriculture, and commerce, instead of requiring, as all other fortresses do, perpetual large sums for rearing fortifications, for artillery, stores, provisions, and pay to the garrisons; all which must be obtained at the expence of the people, whose numbers are diminished, and whose burthens are thus augmented to a very high degree.

*The End of the Evidence.*

#### A D D E N D U M.

WHEN I was on the west coast of Scotland, all the persons I met with, unanimously concurred in opinion, that no vessel bigger than a boat, could possibly be so managed as to shoot and haul long lines, unless those that were *robberyrigged*. Since that time, I have met with several facts that convince me this opi-

nion.

nion is not strictly just: for I am assured, that the Dutch do actually fish with long lines at sea, in vessels rigged in several different ways: and that the people of Harwich, and other places on the east coast of England, do the same. I now think it highly probable, that vessels of various constructions may, under skilful management, be employed in the long-line fisheries; though it seems still to be admitted on all hands, that none are more simple, and more easily worked, than *wherries*. I thought it necessary to state this fact, for the consideration of those who have better access to be informed of the mode of managing a vessel at sea than myself. It is but about fifteen years since the people at Harwich, &c. learned to shoot lines after the Dutch method, and now they are very dextrous fishers.

In reflecting on this subject, one other consideration deserves to be attended to. A vessel that is to be employed in fishing for herrings at sea after the Dutch method, requires probably a peculiar-  
built

built, and possibly a particular rigg also, for lying easy in the water, with the circumstances of which I am not acquainted. I have been assured, it is of much importance, that one at least of their masts should admit of being struck while they are driving.—Enquiry, therefore, should be made very particularly into all these circumstances, before any decisive measure be adopted for promoting the fisheries, that the encouragements held forth may tend to introduce the very best form of vessels for both purposes. In this respect, it would be extremely absurd in me to pretend to direct: I have only ventured to sketch the outlines of a system that leads to the consideration of the objects of principal importance; fully sensible that it will require the continued attention of much greater talents to watch over the progress of this important undertaking, with a view to correct defects, and to remedy inconveniencies, which experience may be expected to discover in every system that human ingenuity can devise.

## APPENDIX.

## No. 1.

**CONCLUSION** of the Third Report from the Committee appointed to enquire into the State of the British Fisheries, and into the most effectual Means of their Improvement and Extension. July 14, 1785.

**A**S the Law granting a bounty on the tonnage of buffes employed in the herring-fishery, will soon expire, when the subject will unavoidably be brought under the review of Parliament, your Committee submit to the House, the following observations—

It appears the less surprising to your Committee, that the opinions of men should be divided on this subject, because there is much more to be said against either side of the question, than in its favour. According to the present belief of your Committee, the herring-fishery will be but indifferently encouraged, either by a continuance of the present bounty on the buffes, or by bestowing that bounty on the barrel of herrings when caught and cured.

It is certain, that a change of the bounty in the manner last mentioned, would immediately extinguish the buff-fishery, unless the bounty to be given on the barrel of fish cured, were to be very extravagant and enormous indeed, and far exceeding the abilities of the nation to furnish, or becoming its wisdom to grant. For it appears by the account in Appendix, No. 20, that the money



money granted on the tonnage, amounts, on an average of eleven years, viz. from 1771 to 1782 inclusive, to 14s. 11½d. on every barrel of herrings caught by busses fishing on the bounty, and exported from North Britain; and to 11s. 3d. on the barrel of herrings consumed at home, and this too exclusive of the allowance of using salt duty-free. Yet, notwithstanding this improvement, great as it seems to be, your Committee cannot represent the buss-fishery as being in a flourishing state; for, in the year 1782, there appears to have been but 135 busses, navigated by about 2000 fishers, fitted out from all the ports of North Britain. Your Committee, however, are sensible this bounty has not been entirely misapplied: Many hands have been trained to the seas, who would, in all probability, not otherwise have been so trained. The places from whence this fishery is carried on, have increased in wealth and in numbers, and have not been backward, during the last year, in furnishing their quotas to the manning of the navy. Your Committee are not prepared to recommend to this House, the discontinuing immediately the bounty on the buss-fishery; for, as many people have embarked their property in this trade, it may be advisable to continue the bounty for some time longer, till the effect of other measures shall be known.

Your Committee are of opinion, That the causes operating to the discouragement of our fisheries, will not be removed by any single measure, but will require the adoption of a new system: for, besides the discouragements on which your Committee have already reported, arising from the restraints and embarrassments imposed by the laws relating to the duty on salt, the delays and expences of customhouses and customhouse fees, our fisheries, and particularly those of herrings, have many other difficulties to contend with.—The main and principal difficulty appears, by the evidence, to arise from the state of the country, and the condition

tion of the inhabitants occupying the shores of those seas, lochs, bays, and creeks, near to which the best fishing-banks are situated, and where the herrings at certain seasons of the year resort in great abundance. There the inhabitants live in scattered and detached habitations: They are occupied, during the season best calculated for fishing, either in providing a miserable fuel for the winter, or in managing their own little farms, or in performing certain personal services for their landlord or his steward, or the principal tacksmen, under whom they hold their precarious possessions. Their avocations are therefore numerous, and their time often unprofitably employed; and were even these services to their superiors at any time dispensed with, and the people at liberty to engage more freely in the fisheries, and their labours in that way successful, which from their extreme poverty is not likely to be the case, they would be exposed to demands of an increase of rent, in proportion to their success in the fisheries, and to the extent of the public encouragement for carrying them on. The landlord, or his steward, or the superior tacksmen, might profit by the bounty given on the barrel of herrings taken; but it is a matter of doubt with your Committee, if the poor fisher himself would reap any solid benefit therefrom.

Your Committee, willing to afford every possible light to this House, respecting the situation of that country, have examined certain accounts referred to them, *viz.*—

An account of the duties of customs paid or collected in the counties of Argyle, Inverness, Ross, Sutherland, Caithness, and Orkney and Shetland, as also the net amount of the said duties, distinguishing each county and port, for the year 1765, and for the year 1782; and also,

An account of the above duties from the year 1774 to the year 1784.

From

From the first of these accounts it appears to your Committee, That in the year 1763, the gross receipts of the customs amounted to L. 3930 2 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ .  
The expence of management to 3097 9 2  
The net produce to 832 13 9 $\frac{1}{2}$

And in the year 1782,  
Gross produce was L. 2569 12 11 $\frac{1}{2}$   
Payments 3105 11 7

Excess of payments more than produce, 535 18 7

By the second account, the following appears to be the state of the customs from 1775 to 1784, viz.

	Gross Produce.			Payments.			Net Produce.			Payments exceeded Produce.		
1775	1553	2	4	1180	17	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3728	5	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—
1776	918	9	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	1407	7	4	—	—	—	488	18	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
1777	3938	17	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3817	18	3	120	19	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—
1778	3040	19	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	3612	11	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—	371	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	6
1779	1420	8	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	2840	17	1	—	—	—	1460	8	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
1780	2455	9	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	3079	4	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—	623	15	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1781	3384	14	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	3234	16	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	149	17	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—
1782	2569	12	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	3105	11	7	—	—	—	535	18	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1783	2918	0	8	3088	9	11	—	—	—	170	9	3
1784	6227	8	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	3017	18	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3199	9	4	—	—	—
	50737	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	51679	13	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	7198	10	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	8151	1	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
										7198	10	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
										952	10	9

Your Committee can hardly exhibit a more deplorable state of a public revenue. It appears there has been annually collected for customs, in six counties more extensive than all the rest of Scotland, on an average of the last ten years, L. 5073 12 0.  
That the expence of collection is 5167 19 0  
and that an actual loss has accrued on this branch of revenue, of about L. 94 : 7s. a-year.—An account of the

the duties of excise has been called for during the same period, but not yet presented to the House; but, so far as your Committee can judge from analogy, they have little reason to expect a more favourable result from their enquiries respecting the excise than the customs.

Your Committee have also examined the following accounts, *viz.*

An account of the duties on salt paid or collected in the counties of Argyle, Inverness, Ross, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland, as also the net amount of the said duties on salt, distinguishing each county and port, for the year 1765, and for the year 1782; and also,

An account of the above duties from the year 1774, to the year 1784.

From the first of these accounts it appears, that in the year 1765, the gross receipts of the salt-duties amounted to

L. 19 7 8

The expence of management to

27 4 6

Excess of payments more than produce, 7 16 10

And in the year 1782,

The gross produce (there being no expence of management) amounted to

53 2 9½

By the second account, the following appears to be the state of the salt-duties from 1774 to 1784, *viz.*

	Gross Produce.	Payments.	Net Produce.
1775	629 14 6	248 15 0	371 19 6
1776	788 16 6½	323 9 6½	465 7 0
1777	598 14 3½	277 5 4½	321 8 10½
1778	200 9 11½	66 2 4½	134 7 7½
1779	66 0 11½	4 11 10	61 9 1½
1780	50 15 2	0 0 0	50 15 2
1781	76 16 6½	0 0 0	76 16 6½
1782	53 2 9½	0 0 0	53 2 9½
1783	154 14 1	0 0 0	154 14 1
1784	57 12 6	24 12 9	32 19 9
	2667 17 4½	044 16 10½	1723 0 5½



Your Committee, in obedience to the order of the House, think it their duty to suggest such encouragements and regulations as have appeared to them from the evidence, to promise future success to the British fishery in all its branches.

Although your Committee have already reported very fully to the House on the subject of salt, they are induced again to offer it as their opinion, That nothing would more contribute to the prosperity of the fisheries, than that Parliament should see fit to commute the duties upon that commodity, and allow it to be used not only free from duty, but also from the various vexatious bonds and penalties which at present accompany that indulgence, and which, in many cases, are as distressing to the fishers, as if they paid the duty upon the salt they use.

2dly, The labour of the inhabitants of those parts where the fisheries would be best carried on, being employed for the greatest part of the summer in providing fuel for themselves and others; it appears to your Committee, that either a total remission of the duty on coal carried coastways for a certain number of years, or a commutation of that duty, would enable the people to purchase coal at a moderate price, remove one of the great obstacles to their collecting themselves together in towns and villages, and allow them to employ the summer in prosecuting the fisheries, and other branches of industry.

It appears from accounts laid on your table, That the whole net duty collected on coal over all Scotland, does not exceed L. 3000 a-year; which furnishes the most convincing proof to your Committee, that the present duties are too high, and operate more as a prohibition on the use of the article, than as a benefit to the revenue. The net duties on salt in North-Britain, amount only to L. 12,000 a-year; so that the consequences of a commutation of both the above duties would not be felt as a heavy burthen, whether it were

imposed

imposed on houses, like the tea, or levied by a small additional duty on malt consumed in distilleries, and in brewing for private use. Should the last mode be thought expedient, an additional tax of threepence per bushel on malt used as above, would yield to the public a greater sum by several thousand pounds, than that which is relinquished by exempting coal and salt from their present duty.

3dly, Your Committee would recommend the granting encouragement to such of the proprietors of lands in that country, as are disposed to build towns upon their estates. The encouragements which would operate the most successfully for this purpose, appear to be the following:—Charters of incorporation, like those of other towns in Scotland, allowing the inhabitants of the said towns to choose magistrates vested with the usual powers, for the good government of the community.—The same form of government might also be given to the smaller islands in the Hebrides, Orkney and Shetland: And in all the charters, the corporation should be declared to be free and open, allowing every person resident in the place to be a member of them, and at liberty to exercise any trade or profession, without paying any thing for freedom or entrance. Some public aid for building churches and court-houses, and making harbours fit for receiving the small fishing vessels, might also be requisite; and custom-houses and post-offices should be established early in these rising communities, in order to enable them more conveniently to carry on their commerce and navigation. And your Committee are inclined to think a board of sub-commissioners of customs and excise, placed either at Inverness, or Fort William, would conduce much both to the facility of commerce, and the better collection of the revenue in that remote country, where the practice of smuggling prevails to a great extent, as your Committee have every reason to believe.—On this subject, your Committee have inserted in the Appendix,

No. 21. some observations, with which they have been favoured by one of their members, and a large proprietor in that country.

4thly, For the security of the navigation and fishing on those seas, some additional light-houses ought to be erected, four of which have been particularly pointed out to your Committee, one at Kinnaird's Head in Aberdeenshire, a second at North Ranaisha in the Orkneys, a third on the Mull of Cantire, and a fourth at the point of Scalpa in the island of Herries. For want of these light-houses, it appears that many valuable lives and cargoes are lost in every winter season.

5thly, Premiums distributed somewhat on the plan suggested by Dr. Anderson, would, in the opinion of your Committee, have a considerable effect in stimulating the boat-fishers along the coasts, to exert themselves vigorously in the prosecution of the fisheries.

6thly, Some canals appear necessary for assisting the navigation of that country; one which seems the easiest to be made, would also be of the greatest importance, from Loch-Gilp to Loch-Crinan, through the peninsula of Cantire; by which a most dangerous and tedious voyage between the north-western and the more cultivated parts of Scotland would be avoided. A second should be made between the two seas from the Murray-Firth to Fort-William, which would also facilitate the intercourse between the more cultivated and ruder parts of those northern countries. A third would, at a small expence, unite Loch-Moydart and Loch-Eil, on the northern extremity of Argyleshire, with great benefit to the fishing vessels and boats in those seas.

A survey and report respecting that from Inverness to Fort-William, by Mr. Watt, engineer, employed for that purpose by the Board of Police in Scotland, together with his estimate of the expence of making a canal from Loch-Gilp to Loch-Crinan, is subjoined in Appendix (No. 22). In the same Appendix, are some observations on the last-mentioned canal, by Dr. Anderson.

7thly, The state of the roads through that mountainous and almost desert country, from which the fisheries might be carried on to the greatest advantage, merits also the attention and aid of the public.

8thly, As the feeble execution of justice appears to your Committee among the causes that have retarded the improvement of the more northerly parts of this island, your Committee are of opinion, That much benefit would arise, were the Courts of Justiciary to extend its circuits through the countries of Cromarty, Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, and to hold Courts at Dornoch, Wick, and Fort-William, twice a year, as is done in the other parts of the kingdom: And your Committee would recommend the erecting the great and populous islands of Skye, Lewis, and Shetland, into three new and separate sheriffdoms, which would contribute much to the ease and relief of the inhabitants.

9thly, Your Committee most earnestly recommend it as a measure absolutely necessary for encouraging the fisheries, That all boats and vessels employed therein, be absolutely exempted from the expence of custom-house fees, and that no fees of any kind be demanded on receiving debentures for bounties or drawbacks on fish exported: On this head your Committee have annexed a paper in the Appendix (No. 23.)

10thly, Your Committee also again recommend allowing fish salted or cured for home-consumption, to be used freely, without paying the duty on salt. This appears the more necessary, as it is to be feared the foreign markets of Europe and the West Indies will be supplied by Swedish herrings. On this subject your Committee have inserted in the Appendix (No. 24.), a paper delivered to them by Mr. Byres, of undoubted authenticity. And in farther corroboration of the truth of the facts stated therein, they refer to the Appendix (No. 25.) for an account of the exports of herrings from Gottenburgh for the years 1775, 1776, and 1777; and also for 1779, 1780, and 1781. Your Committee have also

I 2



annexed in the Appendix (No. 26), extract of a letter from Gilbert Mason, Esq; of Leith, on the same subject.

These are the outlines of the system which your Committee would suggest to the consideration of the House, as being in their opinion best calculated for promoting the fisheries on the coasts of Great Britain. This system would at the same time contribute to the improvement of the country, and the increase of the revenue, and be generally serviceable to a great number of our valuable fellow-subjects, many of whom are languishing in poverty and idleness, and are frequently exposed to the danger of perishing by famine, or of becoming a burthen on the more industrious part of the community.

It is not only in evidence before your Committee, but it is a fact of general notoriety, that a considerable degree of dissatisfaction prevails among the inhabitants of the remoter parts of this island, many of whom have already disposed of their little property, and embarked with their wives and children for America; others, it is confidently said, are preparing to follow their example: Nor does your Committee see any other means of checking this dangerous spirit of emigration, but by promoting industry, particularly in the line of the fisheries, among these people, and thereby enabling them to procure a comfortable subsistence for themselves and their families at home.

#### APPENDIX, No. II.

*An Account of the way in which the different kinds of Fisheries on our coasts are usually carried on.*

1. **T**HE herring-fishery in our seas is always carried on by nets stretched in the water, one side of which is kept from sinking, by means of buoys fixed to it at proper distances; and as the weight of the net

makes the side sink to which no buoys are fixed, it is suffered to hang in a perpendicular position like a screen, and the fish, when they endeavour to pass thro' it, are entangled in its meshes, from which they cannot disengage themselves; there they remain till the net is hauled in and the herrings are shaken, or picked out of the nets. Hence it frequently happens, that though fish abound, none of them may chance to be taken. This event may be produced in either of the following ways.

2. If the fish remain at rest, the net may hang among them a long time without any being taken. When the fishermen think this is the case, they sometimes throw stones, &c. into the water, to terrify the herrings, make them run to and fro, and thus to cause them *strike*, as they call it, into the net; But this is reckoned very prejudicial to the fishery, as it scares away the fish, and drives them out of the lochs.

3. If the meshes of the net be of an improper size for the fish, none will be caught; for, if they are too large, the herrings get through it without sticking; and if too small, they cannot enter it, and therefore cannot be taken.

4. If the net be not let down to a proper depth, the fish will escape. Sometimes the body of fish swim very deep; in which case, the net should be allowed to sink to the same depth they swim in, by lengthening the rope that fastens the buoy to it, (which rope they call the buoy-string); Sometimes, on the other hand, the body of fish keeps very near the surface, so that if the buoy-string be too long, the net will be entirely below them. Fishers are attentive to this circumstance, and shorten or lengthen the string as circumstances seem to require.

5. If the threads of which the net is made be thick, it is found by experience, that though in other respects it be the same with another net made of finer threads, it will not catch so many herrings in equal circumstances.

stances. The most skilful fishers, therefore, pay great attention to this circumstance ; and, with that view, grudge no price for the finest hemp, and best spinners. Some have tried to make the nets of flax ; but how this succeeds, I have not learned.

6. With a view to strenghten the nets, and render the threads more compact, they are all tanned. This operation is thus performed ;— A quantity of oak-bark is boiled in a large cauldron, till the bark on trial becomes insipid : The bark is then strained out of the liquor, and thrown away : the liquor is further boiled till it becomes viscid to the touch, and, on dropping a little on the thumb-nail, grows thick as it cools ; it is then judged to be of a proper degree of strength. The nets are then put into a large vessel, and this liquor poured upon them while yet hot : they are suffered to lie there twenty-four hours—are then taken out and dried. The same process is repeated three times ; and then it is supposed they have enough of it. The nets, by this operation, are tinged of a dark-brown hue, approaching to black.—Sails are done over in the same way ; and they reckon it makes them last three times as long as they would do without it : when long used, it becomes necessary to dip them anew.

7. In every kind of herring-fishery, the nets are stretched only during the night-time—as it is found, the fish are caught in much greater abundance while dark, than while it is light. The darkest night, therefore, and those in which the surface of the water is a good deal ruffled by wind, to hide the view of the clear sky, are always reckoned the best—and bright moonlight calm nights the worst for the fishery. It is always supposed, that nets stretched in the day-time frighten the fish, and drive them out of the places where that practice is followed, and therefore it is strictly forbid.

8. The herring is a fish that becomes very soon tainted after it is killed. In summer, it becomes sensibly

sibly worse after being a few hours only out of the water; and if they are exposed but a few minutes to the rays of the sun, they are rendered totally useless, and never will take salt. Therefore, it is very necessary that they should be salted as quickly as possible after they are taken, and in the night-time if it can be done. In winter they may be kept longer than in summer; but, in every case, the sooner they are salted the better.

9. No kind of food is found in the stomach of the herring, (unless it be about the time of their spawning) only a small quantity of slimy matter. They are gutted by pulling out the guts with the finger and thumb, without opening. The offals thus obtained, are thrown into a cauldron and boiled, from which is obtained a small proportion of oil.

10. On our coasts, no other nets but those of the hanging kind above described have been employed for catching herrings, and nets of the same kind are always employed by the Dutch fishers; but the fishery with these nets, is carried on in several different manners. On the west coast of Scotland, they distinguish that which is carried on by boats alone, from that carried on by means of busses, though they are in fact the same; all the fishery there being carried on by boats in bays or narrow creeks of the sea; the *busses* serving no other purpose than to carry the boats and other apparatus to and from the fishing-ground. While they are catching fish, the buss is closely moored. The nets are shot by the small boats: the fish drawn into them, and carried either to the buss, or on shore, to be cured.

11. The Dutch, on the other hand, never allow *their* busses to carry out so much as one boat: the nets are shot by the busses themselves, in the open sea. These nets are in that case fixed to a long and strong rope, called sometimes a buss-rope, horse-rope, and by several other names in different places, the vessel being suffered to drive with the wind and tide, hanging by this rope during the night-time. The nets are drawn  
into



into the buss in the morning, or when they are found loaded, by means of a capstern, and the herrings taken out there, and cured on board the vessel. — The herring-fishery at Yarmouth, is carried on nearly after the same manner, at a great distance from land: and on the east coast of Scotland, about Eymouth, a fishery somewhat of the same nature is carried on by stout boats, that go out a great way from the shore, and fish in deep water, which they distinguish from the other fishery carried on at the same place near the shore, and in bays, like that practised on the west coast, calling the first the *draw*-fishery, and the last the *ground*-fishing.

12. On the coasts of Sweden, where the shores are flat and sandy, the natives surround the herrings with a large net having close meshes through which they cannot escape, and draw both ends of the net towards the shore, till it can touch the bottom. They inclose within it sometimes an immense body of fish, which, when they are brought into a small space, so as to be quite close upon each other, are taken up into boats surrounding the net, by means of small nets fixed to a handle. As the herrings become fewer in number, the net is drawn closer, and so on till the whole that were at first surrounded are taken, if the weather proves so mild as not to derange the net. This has never been practised, that I have heard of, on our coasts.

13. In a few cases, herrings have been caught in shallow bays on the west coast of Scotland, by stretching a low net by means of poles driven into the ground across the bay, over the top of which the herrings pass freely at full sea; and when the tide ebbs so that the net rises above the water, they are prevented by the net from returning, and are sometimes left dry behind it in great quantities. Small walls of loose stones were formerly erected for the same purpose, which were called *yares*. The nets seem to be an improvement on that practice.

14. An ingenious man, one Bruce of Aberdeen, contrived a net to be employed in the herring-fishery, that  
promise

promises to be of much use, on a principle different from either of the foregoing. A description of it was sent to Dr. Anderson, which he shewed to the principal fishermen on the coast, who unanimously agreed, that in many cases it could be employed with the greatest success, tho' it could not apply in all cases. The net was proposed to be made of as great length and depth as could conveniently be managed; to be shot by one or two boats according to its size: to take a circular sweep, so as to close both ends at one point. The bottom was then to be drawn close by means of a line run through open holes made for that purpose, so as to form a kind of bag when close drawn, which would effectually confine all the fish that had been at first inclosed within it, which, when the shoals were thick, would be an immense quantity. These might be taken out at leisure, by small nets fixed to a handle, like those used by the Swedes.

15. Another gentleman in Aberdeen contrived another net, which, when the shoals were very thick, might certainly be used with success. It consisted of a square frame of wood, with a net fixed loosely at the bottom of it. This frame was to be let down into the water edgeways, to such a depth as trials should prove was below the body of the fish. When it was at the proper depth, it was then, by pulling a small line, righted so as to make the frame assume a horizontal position; and then gradually raised to the surface in that position, so as to bring up all the fish that came within its compass in its ascent. This net cannot be made of a very large size, but it can be worked very quickly, and with great ease; and, in the opinion of all who have heard it described, would on some occasions be the means of greatly benefiting the fisheries. It has the advantage over all others, of being beyond comparison the cheapest apparatus that ever was invented for this purpose; and therefore could be carried by every vessel, to be used occasionally, without loading them

them with an expence that could be felt, even if circumstances should not prove favourable for its use. This net is so easily managed, that one man can work it ; so that each man on board might have one.

17. Mackarel are caught by the fishermen in Harwich and Yarmouth, by an apparatus in every respect the same with that used for herrings, the meshes of the nets only being made larger in proportion to the size of the fish.

18. John-doric is a fish that is only caught by a net called a *trawl* ; that is, a large net which is drawn upon flat shores, touching the ground the whole way : which mode of fishing can only be practised on shallow sandy shores. In the same way are sometimes caught soal, turbot, and other kinds of flounders ; as also salmon in rivers, and in the shallow seas near the mouth of rivers.

19. Mullet is an active fish, which is caught in nets of the same kind ; but it usually leaps over the top of the first net, and escapes, unless another net be made to follow it, which this active fish frequently overleaps also ; so that the fishermen are never certain of catching it, unless they have a third net following these two, from which it seldom escapes, being so much fatigued by its former exertions, as to be unable to leap over it.

20. Other kinds of finny fish (those large kinds which are struck with harpoons excepted) are usually caught by means of hooks affixed to lines of different sorts, and baited in many different ways. The chief of these kind of fish, are cod, ling, tusk, hake, skate, holobat, haddocks, whittings, not to mention flounders, which are for the most part caught with lines, and several other kinds of less note. \*

21.

\* On the coast of Norway, they catch cod with nets placed in creeks in a very particular manner, that I cannot describe exactly, having only got a very imperfect account of it myself. The fishermen on the coast of Norway, are a hardy industrious race of men, well accustomed to a bold shore and stormy seas, and habits of moderation. A gentleman well acquainted with those people, thinks it would tend much

much  
to cor  
the be  
shores  
only,

21. The *line* fishery, besides lesser variations, admits of two grand divisions, viz. that carried on by *band-lines* and that by *long-lines*.

22. The fishery by *band-lines* at sea, is chiefly performed by means of a sunk bait; a few fish only, among which the whiting, pollock (the *Lyetb* of Scotland), and mackarel, are the chief, being caught by skimming the hook along the surface, like an angler's fly. In most other cases, the line, to which is fixed one, two, or at the most three hooks properly baited, is dropped over the side of the vessel, and allowed to sink by the help of small weights appended to it for that purpose, till it touches the bottom, if a fish has not sooner taken hold of it: it is then drawn back a little, so as to be kept from touching, and kept gently moving a little till the fish bites, when it is instantly hauled into the ship. In this way the cod on the banks of Newfoundland are all caught; and in this way also, those cod that are taken in rapid currents on our own coasts, must all be caught. Those on banks with us, and in general haddocks and whittings, on our coast, are usually caught by long lines; and ling in almost all cases, that fish being found often at too great depth for a hand-line fishing.

23. What fishers call a long line, is a piece of small cord of many fathoms, sometimes a mile or upwards in length; to which is fixed at regular distances, short lines, a fathom or two in length, each of these short lines having a hook fastened to the loose end of it. This long line is coiled up in a basket before they go to set it, and all the hooks baited so disposed that they cannot entangle. When they go to set their lines, the basket is placed in a proper part of the vessel: one end of the line, to which is fixed a proper sinker, is then thrown

much to the benefit of our fisheries, if some of them could be induced to come and settle on our western coasts, to instruct the natives in the best mode of carrying on the fisheries there; as the seas and shores are somewhat of the same nature with those in Norway—only, in general, not so bold and exposed.



thrown into the sea ; and the vessel is made to proceed forward in the direction they wish it should lie, till the whole of the coil of ropes, with all these hooks appended to it, are stretched in the sea. This operation is called *shooting the lines*. Buoys, at regular distances, are fastened to the lines by means of long cords, that reach altogether, or nearly to the bottom ; by the help of which buoys, the lines are found. These lines are suffered to lie a certain time in the water ; after which the fishermen return, and going to one end of the line, they pull it up by means of the buoy-rope into the boat, and coil it into the basket as it rises, exactly as it was at first, taking off the fish from the hooks as they come into the vessel, and replacing the hooks in the same order as before they were set, so as to prevent entanglement. These hooks are afterwards baited anew, and prepared for being set again ;—and so on at every time they are used, a similar process is repeated.

24. One of these long lines contains sometimes four or five hundred hooks : the thickness of the line, and size and strength of the hooks, as well as the nature of the bait, are proportioned to the fish that are intended to be taken.

25. These long lines, on the coast of Scotland, are usually set and drawn by means of small open boats ; in consequence of which, the fishing is confined within a small distance of the coast. But the Dutch, and the people of Harwich and many other places, employ decked vessels of a considerable size, to shoot and haul their lines ; in consequence of which, they are at liberty to go to a great distance from the shore, where they can remain for a sufficient length of time to complete a loading, if the fishing is favourable, before they return to land—the fish being cured in the intervals between the setting and drawing of their lines.

26. Those who have not been made acquainted with the proper mode of working a vessel for this purpose, find it impossible to haul a long line into a large vessel :

for, unless the vessel be put under way, so as to run at an easy rate along the line, the weight of the vessel, if it were attempted to be hauled in by main force, as in a boat, is such as would infallibly break the lines. They therefore find, that a particular rig of vessel, and a peculiar management of the sails, is necessary before this operation can be properly performed. Wherry-rigged vessels are deemed peculiarly well calculated for this purpose; and the people on the west coast of Scotland in general believe, that no other mode of rigging can so well answer this purpose: and in particular, that sloop-rigged vessels are altogether unfit for it; though I have, since I was on that coast, met with some facts that induce me to believe, that there is a considerable latitude in this respect, when the hands are very skilful.

27. The above will serve to give those Readers who are altogether strangers to these matters, some idea of the meaning of many things incidentally mentioned in this volume without being explained, as being very generally known by those who have ever had access to see the fisheries carried on.

*The manner of carrying on the Herring Fishery at Eyemouth, communicated by Mr. George Knox.*

“ TO begin with the boats,—they are large cobs, from thirty to thirty-three feet long, from seven feet six inches to eight feet wide in the middle, and about three feet wide at the stern: the bow is sharp, flattish bottomed, and in burthen from five to seven tons: from their construction, remarkably easy rowed, and serviceable for putting up on the beaches of the different creeks on the coast. I mention this more particularly, as I cannot find any other, where they are used, of this advantageous description. They come under the description of boats, seizable by the 24th of his present Majesty, cap. xlvii. sect. 45.; which although from the good sense of the officers of the revenue, is not

not put in execution, yet it would be well if an exception was made in their favour.

“The nets are made of two-ply twine, spun from good hemp; after wrought, are steeped amongst boiled bark; along the upper part is fastened six or eight piles of small fine cord, like jack-line, to strengthen them; their dimensions from fifty to sixty yards long, and eighteen yards deep;—these for the float-fishing, and ten to each boat. The same number, spun stronger, are used at the ground-fishing, forty yards long, and ten deep.—The warp, or what our fishermen call the swing, is a tarred three-inch hemp-rope, about forty-five yards long.

*The manner of fishing at the Float.*

“The nets fastened to each other by the small cords at top, and to the swing, which is again fastened to the boat, having small stones affixed along the bottom, to keep them suspended from bladders filled with air at surface; are put out to windward of the boat, in a straight direction across the course of the tide, and drive with the current till hauled in, which is done by the skipper pulling the cords at the top, a man at the middle, and another at the bottom:—the buoys or bladders being fastened by a cord fifteen yards long, the top of the nets are consequently sunk as many yards below the surface of the water; but this depends upon the depth where fishing, as they are not sunk so much in shallow water.

*The manner of fishing at the Ground.*

“In this fishing are used two small anchors for each five nets, which are called a Fleet.—There is a tarred three-inch hemp-rope, about forty-five yards long, fastened to the flouks of each anchor; and at the other end of this rope, is fastened a small cask for a buoy: Again, there is a rope of the same strength and length fastened to the stock of each anchor, to the other end of which is fastened the nets by the small cords at top,

suspended by stones at bottom, from bladders at surface, as at float-fishery. The fleet is thus set in a straight direction, fixed with an anchor at each end, *with* the tide; that is to say, when the current is setting east and west, the direction of the nets is east and west: They are set in the evening, and hauled in the morning; but when there are great quantities of herrings, they are hauled evening and morning: The distance they usually fish from the shore, does not exceed a mile, and often so near the rocks as to endanger the nets getting foul therewith. The ground-fishing is in a creek or bay, or in shallow water: The time they begin to fish, is about the 20th of July: the time they leave off fishing, is about the 20th of September; in the last 14 days of which time, the ground-fishing usually happens.

“The fishings every year since the late peace, have increased in number of boats, longer continuance of fishing, and quantities taken, till this year.—This season proved remarkable bad weather, the wind always blowing from N. and N. N. E. which occasioned a great sea, and such that the boats could not go off; there were seldom two days in one week during its continuance even so favourable.

“Some days preceding Tuesday 23d August, was fine weather; and on that morning, every boat was loaded, having from twenty-five to thirty barrels each. This success might in all probability have continued, had not the wind again set in from the North, preventing any thing from being done for a fortnight. In such bad and unsettled weather, the success was various: I imagine, some boats caught one hundred and forty barrels, and others not above half the quantity. There was no ground-fishing here this season: it was supposed the bad weather forced the herrings up the Firth to Dunbar, where there was a very great ground-fishing for eight days.”

APPEN-



## APPENDIX, No. III.

*Observations on the generally received doctrine concerning the migration of Herrings, and other particulars relating to their natural history.*

1. **A**N opinion has very long prevailed, that the herring is a migratory animal, that it breeds in the North Sea, from whence it issues forth in a great body early in the season each year: that this great body of herrings comes undivided to the Shetland Isles, where it arrives about the middle of June: that it from thence proceeds southward, till, meeting with the land, it divides; one body of the fish going to the west, and another to the east of this island; which, in their progress southward, gradually fill the seas and bays on our coast as they advance: that they reach Yarmouth, and the north of Ireland, in the months of October and November, where they continue some time; and that the shoal, in its progress southward, gradually disperses, and disappears about the beginning of January, retiring, as it would seem, into the northern seas, where they again appear the following year, and repeat the same annual progress as before.

2. It is not easy to discover the writer who first told this plausible tale; but it has been so frequently repeated, as to have come gradually to be believed, without hesitation or enquiry, by almost all European nations; and from these allegations, admitted as incontrovertible facts, have been deduced rules for regulating the fisheries in many cases. It is perhaps of greater consequence that we should not in this respect be misled, than we are at present aware of; and as I have met with many facts that tend to render this theory doubtful at least, I think it my duty here to state them to the public, with a view to induce mankind to be more attentive in their observations on this subject than they have hitherto been.

3. One

3. One circumstance in this tale always struck me as very wonderful, *viz.* that the fish were never seen at sea in their progress southward; though, if it had been true, they must have gone northward every year, as well as southward: but I never yet have met with any person who says he has seen them at sea in their progress northward,—it being always supposed, wherever they have been seen, that they were advancing southward. It is evident, however, that, in the open sea, it will be no easy matter for a passing vessel distinctly to observe the direction of their route, unless they were moving with great rapidity. This I mention only as tending to excite distrust:—the following facts go farther.

4. It is a well-known fact, that the herring-fishing in *Lock-fine* in Argyleshire, usually commences early in June; for the most part, long before any herrings have been observed in any part of the channel between the Long Island and the Main, or on any part of the coast from Cape-Wrath southward. But as the fish, had the theory been just, must have passed from the North Sea along all those coasts, and entered into Loch-fine, round the Mull of Cantire, it is scarcely possible they should have been suffered to pass unperceived in all cases, had they really made that progress.

5. The fishing at the Isle of Man, considerably to the southward of Cantire, usually commences about the beginning of June, which is even before the time that the great body of the fish has been supposed to have reached Shetland, as well as before any herrings have been seen in those narrow seas, through which they must have passed in their progress thither from the Northern Ocean, had they come from thence.

6. Herrings are seldom seen on the coast of Aberdeenshire, except early in the month of June; at which time, all the bays on the coast from Buchanels southward for many miles beyond Aberdeen, are frequently so filled with them as to be taken up

K k

by

by almost any kind of small meshed nets, in great quantities.

7. The herring-fishing at Eymouth, ever since they adopted the drave-fishing, usually commences about the middle of June.

8. Although it is commonly the month of October before the herring-fishing at Yarmouth commences, yet it generally happens, that, in the channel to the southward of Yarmouth, herrings are caught in great abundance in the months of April and May: And every person who has been in London about that season of the year, must recollect, that the streets are usually filled with fresh herrings every day for many weeks together about that time. But at this season of the year, according to the theory, they should all be at the great northern rendezvous, far beyond Shetland.

These facts seem strongly to contradict the fore-mentioned theory;—nor are those that follow, more compatible with it.

9. At Drontheim in Norway, the herring-fishery commences about the middle of June, and continues without any regular intermission till the month of February, when they in general cease from fishing; though herrings may be found there at any time, till the fishing-season in June again arrives. The reason they assign for not fishing in the intermediate months, is, that the herrings which are then caught, cannot be so cured as to keep well. Perhaps a better reason is, that their cod-fishery then commences, which probably yields the natives greater returns.

10. Though, by the wording of the Dutch placards, it would seem to be insinuated that the herrings proceed gradually southward, and desert the Shetland shores as they advance, yet in fact their mode of fishing does not point out this to be the case. Many of their buxses no sooner have made their appearance at the rendezvous at Brassa Sound, as the Law requires, than they proceed immediately southward, and begin to

to fish off the coast of Aberdeen, where they are found every year off Stonehaven, Aberdeen, and Peterhead, even within sight of land, as has been said, as early as the month of June.

11. The fish do not desert the Shetland seas towards the latter part of the season, as we must suppose they would do, were the theory just; but the fact is, that the inconsiderable herring-fishery which is at present carried on by the natives on the western shores of these islands, seldom commences till towards the end of autumn, and usually continues till January or February.

12. Did the herrings observe any uniformity in their progress, it must necessarily happen, that nets stretched in a direction so as to cross that line of progress at right angles, would catch many more fish than if they were set in a direction parallel to the progress of the herrings; that is to say, if the herrings be advancing southward, a net stretched in a direction from east to west, would catch many more fish than one which ran in a direction from south to north: because, in the first case, the fish advancing southward, would be forced by those behind into the meshes of the net, so as quickly to fill it; whereas, in the other case, they might march forward on each side the net, like a body of troops on each side of a wall parallel to their route, without so much as one attempting to pass thro' it. No fishermen, however, have observed any such difference in their mode of setting their nets at sea. Both the Dutch and Yarmouth fishers uniformly allow their vessels to drive as the wind and tide force them, without observing any difference in their success when it happens that their nets are stretched in a direction south and north, or east and west. But, had any such progress of the fish been observed, as is known to be the case with salmon, they would have taken care to watch those opportunities when the wind blew from the west or east at slack tide, (the tide usually sets in those seas south and north) then to shoot their



nets, that by their drifting with the *wind*, their nets might cross the course of the herring : but as no such practice prevails, we may reasonably conclude, that the fishers have perceived no sensible difference in this respect ; and by consequence we may conclude, that the alledged progression of the herrings to the southward, is only a vague conjecture, founded on inaccurate observation.

13. With regard to the fishery on our own coasts, the same reasoning has been applied. It has been said, that the herrings, in their progress southward from the great Northern Ocean, touched first on the western coasts of Scotland in the summer and autumnal months ; but, passing forward, they were opposed in their course directly by the north coast of Ireland, where, of necessity, from this circumstance, the winter-fishing must always be much more abundant and certain than on the coast of Scotland.

14. If this opinion were well founded, it must necessarily happen, that the early summer fishing of herrings should be much more plentiful and certain on the northern coasts of Caithness, than in most other places ; because, there the land would oppose the great shoal in its progress, and all the arms of the sea should be there filled with herrings as full as they could hold. The fact, however, is, that these northern lochs are not nearly so good for the herring-fishery, as many of those on our western coasts ; and in those lochs the fishing is usually best during the autumnal and winter months, and not worth regarding in summer, long after the fishery in Lochfyne and at the Isle of Man have been carried on with the best success.

15. Had this theory been just, it must also have happened, that no part of our coast could in any respect have equalled the southern shores of the Murray-Frith for the herring-fishery : for, this coast directly opposing the herrings in their supposed progress southward, must have stopped them in their course ; and as the shore

t  
c  
P  
m  
C  
ra  
sta  
du  
at  
rel  
go  
the  
peo  
and  
as  
dom  
been  
shor  
in C  
south  
foun  
ring-  
innu  
16.  
out a  
herring  
the su  
afferte  
Storm  
Fishery  
(that  
well fi

west from Buchanness trends a little southward, many of the herrings, in seeking a passage to the south would run up towards Inverness, where, being met by the western coast, and pent up by those that pressed forward from behind, they must have been found in innumerable quantities, during the whole time that any part of the shoal was coming up from the northward; and it could only be after these were fairly passed, that the poor prisoners could be allowed to wheel about and make their escape. At this rate, Inverness, the Bay of Cromarty, and the whole southern shores of the Murray Frith, must have been the very best summer-fishing stations in Britain, and there the fishing would gradually decline as the autumn advanced, so as to dwindle at last into nothing in winter. How do facts correspond with this theory?—Inverness has never been a good fishing station, though a few herrings are caught there every season, that are chiefly consumed by the people on shore, fresh. This fishing begins in autumn, and continues through the whole winter, even as late as February, and sometimes March. Herrings are seldom seen in the Bay of Cromarty. A small fishing has been for some time past carried on upon the north shores of the Murray-Frith, particularly about Wick in Caithness: But herrings are seldom seen on the southern coast of that Frith, and never have been found there in such abundance as to establish a herring-fishery of any kind.—How miserably are we, in innumerable instances, disappointed by this theory!

16: The only fact I have met with, that seems, without any intention of a theoretical nature, to trace the herrings in their progress from south to north during the summer season, directly contrary to what is usually asserted, is in a letter from the Reverend Mr. Downie of Stornoway, dated 14th March 1785, (Appendix to the Fishery Report, No. 45), which runs thus: "They (that is the dog-fish) make their appearance on the west side of the Lewis; our people first observe them off

off *Gallon-Head*: They run generally in the months of *July* and *August*, sometimes near the shore, sometimes one, two, three leagues distant: They go from *south* to *north*, I mean along shore, at the same distance from the land, and disappear off *Europa-Point*: *They seem always to follow the shoal of herrings*, as their stomachs are generally full of them when caught."—Some fishermen at Aberdeen also informed me this season, June 1785, that they had fallen in with a body of herrings off the *Girdleness*, near Aberdeen, distant five or six leagues, proceeding directly northward. I was told also at *Rothsay*, that a shipmaster, whom I did not see, had fallen in with a body of fish in the year 1783, west of the island of *Colonsay*, moving northward with great rapidity. I leave these facts as I find them, to the consideration of the Reader, without any remark.

17. Although it sometimes happens that the herrings are found in greater abundance on the west coast of Scotland early in summer, when few are to be found on the coast of Ireland; and that, on the contrary, plenty are sometimes found on the coast of Ireland towards the latter part of the season, when none are to be found on the Scottish coasts, as happened to be the case pretty much both in the year 1782 and 1783; yet this rule is not general, far less *invariable*. Before the year 1782, the winter-fishing on the Scottish coast seldom failed, and was often very abundant; nor was the winter-fishing on the coast of Ireland, ever, till then, taken notice of as considerable. It chanced in the year 1782, that both the summer and winter-fishing on the coast of Scotland failed, and that a tolerable fishing on the Irish coast cast up late in the season, which attracted the attention of our fishermen. In 1783, the early fishing on the coast of Scotland was very good,—the late fishing there poor, though very abundant on the coast of Ireland. From this partial fact a general rule has been deduced, but without foundation; for, in the year 1784, the herrings set in upon the coast of Ireland

in great abundance, in the month of June, but were not to be found in any considerable body during the latter part of the winter; whereas, on the Scottish coasts that season, a tolerable fishing cast up in July and August; but the most abundant was at Loch-Roag in Lewis, in the month of November, when scarce any were found on the coast of Ireland.

18. Did the general theory, so confidently asserted by several individuals engaged in the fishing business, hold good, that business would be much less precarious than it is found to be at present. In that case, the busses would invariably proceed at the beginning of the fishing season to the northward, there to wait the fish; and when they fell in with a body of them in one bay, which afterwards left it, would know that the herrings might be looked for with certainty to the southward. So far, however, is this from being the case, that the fishermen all agree, they know of no rule for forming any sort of judgment where the fish may be looked for, after they leave any one loch; and therefore, in case of herrings leaving any one loch, the busses disperse to all quarters wherever chance directs, sometimes to the south, and sometimes to the north, not having the least idea where or when they may next fall in with them.

19. Of these facts innumerable examples might be produced: the following only are selected.—August 1783, Herrings were found in abundance in Loch-Craignish, some at Oban and Fort-William, and great plenty in Loch-Urn, but few in the northern lochs. In September and October of the same year, scarce any were found on the coast; but, in November, plenty were found in Loch-Roag. In short, a loch-fishing is on all hands admitted to be a most precarious business; chiefly from this circumstance, that no judgment can be formed *a priori*, in what place the herrings will cast up; and many of the most attentive fishers, with a view to remedy this defect, are exceedingly anxious to have advice—



advice-boats established along those coasts, with a view to carry intelligence as quickly as possible to the busses, of any place where the herrings chance to have come into a loch, or arm of the sea.

20. On this subject, it may not be improper to take notice of a notion that has been pretty generally propagated, though probably without sufficient foundation, *viz.* that the fish are forced into particular harbours, by storms of wind driving them forward into the bays. Without pretending to say that a body of fish may not on *some* occasions be thus determined to embay, I think it may be safely asserted, that this is by no means a general case, otherwise fishermen would not be so frequently at a loss where to find them as at present; for, if it were so, they would know, that after an easterly wind, they might be in general found in the lochs on an eastern shore; and after a westerly wind, in the Skye lochs, and on the western coasts of Scotland: which would remove, in some measure, that uncertainty so generally complained of. This is an argument founded on experience.—Another may be grounded on the observations that have been made on the very small depth to which the sea is known to be agitated in a storm; as it has been found, that in the deepest sea, during the most violent wind, it is only a few feet, not to mention fathoms, on the surface, that are disturbed by it: It can only be those, therefore, which are very near the surface, that can be forced away violently by the wind; and as they have it always in their power to dive and evade that disagreeable contest, we may conclude they do so in general. Indeed, if they did not do so, but were forced along by the surface waves, it would happen, that whenever they approached the shore, they would be dashed upon the rocks with inconceivable violence, and, like a ship upon a lee-shore, be inevitably destroyed in immense bodies—a thing that is scarcely ever observed to take place. From hence we may fairly conclude, that they

are

are seldom forced by a storm, to go where they would not of themselves choose to go.

21. Another part of the received opinion already referred to, is, that the fish caught in the month of June, are invariably the fattest and best; and that from that period, they turn leaner and worse in quality as the season advances. It is also believed, that before the 25th of June, they are unfit for use; and are, therefore, forbid by the Dutch regulations, to be taken before that day.

22. But if the fish are unfit to be used before the 25th of June, is it possible to suppose, that they should be in the state of the highest perfection on the 26th of that month? Yet this opinion must be maintained, before the two parts of the foregoing theory can be reconciled. This, I believe, no person will seriously maintain,—as all will be ready to admit, that if the herrings are in the highest state of perfection about the middle of June, they must have been gradually advancing to that state of perfection before that period, as happens with all other kinds of fish. I therefore conclude, that as some of the herrings caught about the middle of June by the Dutch busses, are, without dispute, of a very good quality, the Dutch regulation, which forbids them to be caught before the 25th of that month, is merely an arbitrary regulation, that has no just foundation for its establishment, or some other foundation than that which is here alledged.

23. That this regulation was not adopted, from the consideration that the herrings were not advanced so far south as Shetland, before the time mentioned in the placarts, appears very plainly from the regulations themselves; for, though all shipmasters are prohibited from shooting their nets with a view to catch herrings for *being cured*: till the 24th day of June†, yet, by the same placart, they are expressly permitted to fish for

† The nets are not permitted to be wet till the night of the 24th of June; and consequently the herrings are not caught till the 25th.

herrings before that time, *for bait*. This shows, that herrings were known by the Dutch to be upon the coast before the time they are said to issue forth from the North Sea; and that they knew, as the Drontheim fishers maintain, that herrings are upon the coast at all times of the year.

24. This last fact is corroborated by the testimony of the old fishers in Loch-fine, and other places on the west coast, who invariably maintain, that herrings may be there caught at all seasons of the year, if they are searched for at a sufficient depth; as well as by the experience of the southern fishers, who supply the London market with fresh herrings in the months of April and May.

25. Another opinion has arisen out of this, that seems to be as ill-supported by facts, as any of those I have hitherto had occasion to animadvert upon. It is, That the herrings which come first upon the coast, are smaller, as well as fatter, than those that come afterwards: that the largest and leanest herrings are caught only during the winter-months; and that these large, lean, winter-caught herrings, are the only kind that can be properly cured for the West Indian market, &c.

26. That the earliest herrings are not invariably small, we know from this circumstance, that the herrings caught in Loch-fine, very early in the season, are in general very large-sized herrings, and for the most part much larger than those caught later in the season off Dunbar.

27. In like manner, it is well known, that the Manx herrings, (herrings that are caught about the Isle of Man), which are usually caught early in the season, are larger than those of Yarmouth, which are taken at a more advanced season, in the proportion sometimes of one to two, and seldom less than as two to three.

28. Just so we find, that the herrings which are caught about Inverness, and from thence to Wick, as  
also

also those in Loch-Eil near Fort-William, are for the most part a much smaller kind of herring, than those that are caught about Loch-Broom and that neighbourhood, though the fishing begins as early at Loch-Broom as at either of those places, and though the fishing usually continues longer in them, especially about Inverness, than Loch-Broom.

29. But there are other facts, which place this object in another point of view. Sometimes a shoal of large herrings will appear in a particular loch, leave it, and be succeeded by one of a smaller kind, and *vice versa*: And sometimes it happens, that very large fish are found in one loch, at the very time that in other places near it only very small herrings can be found; and sometimes the large and small herrings are intermixed in the same shoal, and may be caught at the same season of the year. I will give examples of all these kinds that occurred while I was on that coast in the year 1784.

30. At Oban, a shoal of large lean fish (about 700 to a barrel) made its appearance in the end of July, or beginning of August, where they continued ten or twelve days, and then suddenly disappeared; but where they went, nobody knew, as no fish resembling these were seen on any part of that coast during all that season. About a week or ten days after their departure, they were succeeded by another shoal of small fish, (about 1200 to a barrel), which continued in that bay for some weeks, but not in large quantities.

31. In like manner, it happened that very season, that abundance of large fine herrings were caught in Loch-Urn, at the summer-fishing; but these were succeeded afterwards by a body of smaller fish, not much above half their size.

32. Again, at the time that the body of large fish above described was in the bay of Oban, another shoal of fish, of a much smaller size, (about 12 or 1500 to a barrel), cast up in Loch-Craignish, to the south of it; and



and another shoal still smaller, at Fort-William, to the north of it : nor are such diversities as these in the least uncommon. For this reason, a buss properly equipped always carries three sets of nets having meshes of different sizes, that they may be prepared to catch that size of fish which chances to come in the way—and on this wise forecast depends very often the success of the fishery. The people of Rothsay in Bute, from having bestowed a more than ordinary attention to this circumstance, have deservedly obtained a very high degree of reputation in the herring fishery\*.

33. With regard to what has been asserted, that the small herrings are always fattest, and most difficult to be cured, I do not meet with facts to support either the one or the other of these assertions. In the cases already mentioned, that consisted with my own knowledge, the facts stood thus :—

34. The small herrings that were caught in Loch-Craignish (32) were very good; those still smaller, that were caught near Fort-William (32) still better ; and the large ones, that were caught at Oban (30) were much leaner, and of a worse quality than the others. These facts seem to confirm the theory.—On the other hand, the large herrings that were caught at the beginning of the season in Loch-Urn (31.) were fatter, and in every respect better than those smaller ones which were found in it at a later period (31.) But the largest and fattest fish that were caught on that coast in the year 1784, were caught in Loch-Ross, towards

\* In the month of August 1784, a great body of herrings came into Loch-Urn, consisting of many different sizes intermixed.—“Yesterday, says Mr. Macdonald of Harrisdale, in his letter to Mr. John Clark, dated August 24, Appended to the Report on the Fisheries, No. 13.) I went into the loch (Loch-Urn), and carried with me nets, some larger, some smaller in the meshes; and I have the pleasure to tell you, that though I had but four of our small country nets in the yard, not exceeding the fifth part of a buss-train, in less than twenty minutes I hooked twelve barrels of fish, every net, as they were wide or narrow in the mesh, catching during in proportion to their size”

the latter end of November (17). These facts contradict every part of the theory.

35. From particular facts, let us come to others more general. It is universally admitted, that the Manx herrings are not only much larger in general, but also much fatter than those of Yarmouth; as are those of Loch-fine both fatter and larger than those caught of Dunbar.

36. Hence, small herrings are not, *as such*, to be accounted either better or worse than large ones; nor are summer-caught herrings, *as such*, to be accounted better than those caught in winter—an infinite diversity being observed to take place in this respect.

37. Neither are lean herrings more easy to be cured than fat ones, in equal circumstances, if the concurrent testimony of all the fishermen I talked with can be relied on. Nor are they more saleable at any market: for, they unanimously declared, that if in any case they had lean and fat fish to choose upon, they would invariably prefer the fat kind for any purpose whatever\*. Some of them indeed described a kind of oily herrings, which they seemed to consider as a diseased fish, which they wished to reject, because they were apt to gild; but the real healthy fish, though much fatter, they did not consider as peculiarly liable to that disorder §.

38. If

\* It has been in particular often asserted, that lean herrings are much better for being cured as red herrings, than fat fish: But, on all the west coast, this fact was denied.—the owners of red-herring houses invariably concurring in asserting, that the fattest and best herrings were far preferable to lean ones for this particular use.

§ It is commonly said, that when great quantities of herrings can be caught, and no opportunity occurs for curing them, a great deal of oil may be extracted from them by boiling.—There is much reason to suspect this is a mistake. When herrings have been gutted, and are boiled for eating, it is well known, that very little oil is thus separated from them. It is also well enough known, that if the entrails be boiled by themselves, a considerable quantity of oil is obtained, which is in all cases carefully preserved by our fishers. I therefore suspect, that if they be boiled without being gutted, the oil that

is

38. If fat fish are therefore not to be rejected as unsaleable at the West Indian market, so neither are small fish, as such, there unwelcome, if the following fact, which I had from a considerable fish-merchant in London, can be relied upon. He was employed by the fishers about Wick and Inverness, for several years, to dispose of the herrings they cured. The owners of these fish, thinking the largest were best, had separated the large from the small, and empowered him to sell the small at a less price *per* barrel. They were equally well cured and packed as the others, and he sold them at first somewhat lower than the large; but, finding a great demand for the small, he raised the price to the same as the others, and found he could always dispose of the small rather in preference to the others.—This was for the West India market; and upon enquiry he found, that when well-cured, the proprietors there liked the small herrings best, because they could be more easily divided into what portions they pleased than the larger.

39. As to fish caught at different seasons, there is not a doubt but that it is more difficult to cure summer than winter-caught fish: because, in summer, the smallest delay in any of the operations, will spoil them entirely; the being a few minutes, as I have been frequently assured, exposed to the sun at that season, will so effectually spoil them, as that they never will take on the salt, and therefore must be useless; whereas in win-

is thus obtained, must arise chiefly from the entrails; and if so, it must be a very uneconomical practice, to destroy the whole fish for obtaining it. This I mention, not as a decided point, but as a very proper subject for observation and accurate experiment.—It is not the fattest kinds of fish that yields the most oil. Salmon afford but very little; but in the curing, after they are in the barrels, a small quantity of that oil is worked off; and this operation, they find, tends much to prevent the fish from becoming gilded. I much suspect, that this would be by far the best method also, of obtaining the oil from the herrings, as well as the best method of curing that delicate fish.

\* These were so very small, as to take, in some cases, about 2000 to a barrel.

ter,

ter, a much longer delay is not accompanied with equal hazard. Whatever the quality of the fish therefore may be, there is a greater risk that they will be spoiled in the curing in summer, than in winter; but if proper care be taken, there is not a doubt but the fattest summer-cured fish that can be obtained, will be equally good with the best that can be obtained in winter, and much better than the lean fish that shall be caught at that season.

40. There is one peculiarity relating to the natural history of herrings, that seems to distinguish them from all other kinds of fish with which I am acquainted, and which effects the various questions agitated in this enquiry, in many different ways.—It has been supposed, that herrings either breed in the North Seas during the spring months, when they desert our coasts, or that they issue from those seas in search of a more convenient place to deposit their spawn in, (for I do not find that speculators are agreed as to this point). There are good reasons, however, for believing, that neither of these opinions is well founded.

41. It is found by experience, that in every unsorted heap of herrings, at whatever season of the year they have been catched, there are found some that have full roes, others that are altogether empty, being lately spawned, which are called by the Dutch *shotten* herrings, and others in all the different stages of pregnancy\*. Hence it must appear evident, that the herring does not breed at one particular season only, like most other kinds of fish, and the greatest part of the wild animals we know; but that, like man, and several tribes of domestic animals, they procreate at all seasons of the year without exception. This being the case, it will follow, that herrings must spawn in all those seas in which they are ever found; so that they can have no

\* This may be observed by inspecting any parcel of *unsorted* British cured herrings.

particular



particular place for breeding in. The fact above mentioned with respect to the diversity that is observed in every heap of herrings, I had occasion to observe myself, and it was confirmed to me by every intelligent fisherman I conversed with; but it was only a few who told me that they had frequently had their fishing-lines in Losh-fine and other places, covered with the spawn of the herrings which they had found in the bottom of the water.

42. But though all agreed that the fact above mentioned was undeniable, yet they acknowledged that the following diversities with regard to it were observable.

43. It sometimes happens that a shoal of herrings will be found, the *greatest part* of which are full of roe; while another shoal will be met with, perhaps at the same time of the year, the *greatest part* of which are lately spawned (*bottom*), or another in which the generality of them are in an early state of pregnancy, while a fourth has them all intermixed, without any one kind having the ascendancy.

44. From the facts that I could collect, it likewise appeared to me probable, that, upon the whole, a greater proportion of herrings found on our coast are pretty far advanced in their pregnancy, and *shorter*, towards the months of November and December, than at the earlier periods of the fishery. — This seemed to me *probable*, though it was not supported by such a general concurrence of opinion as to render it certainly to be relied on.

45. It was, however, very universally admitted, that at whatever season the fish were caught, those that had lately spawned, or what is called *bottom*, are the leanest and worst herrings: that they approach to this lean meagre state as they come towards full roe; and that they are fattest and best when they are not at all, or but a small degree advanced in their pregnancy. These different states can be distinguished by a skillful fisherman,

fishermen; without a particular examination, merely by the glance of his eye, who can observe a sensible difference where another person could not perceive it in the least, as I frequently experienced when on board the cutter, the common men never failing to pick out the best with the utmost facility, where I would have been much diffculted\*.

46. Though this peculiarity has not, that I know of, been taken notice of by any of those who have treated of the natural history of the herring, it is plain the Dutch have been long well acquainted with it; for, in their printed regulations, it is expressly required, that at all seasons of the fishery, the herrings of each night's catching shall be carefully sorted into three parcels, the prime, (I write here from memory, and am not certain of the name), the full, and the *butten*, which last is always accounted rebate fish. From the circumstances stated it will appear, that this sorting must always be a matter of great importance, if we wish to obtain very fine herrings; and as it is not much attended to by our fishers, that must be one principal mean of making our fish be much inferior to the best of the Dutch herrings.

47. I could not find, by my enquiries, at what size or age the herring begins to breed, or how long it is in attaining its full growth, but it is sometimes found in roe of a very small size, and consequently small lean fish may be found, as well as large fat and plump fish. It is probable they sometimes have attained to a considerable age, from the very great difference of size we observe in those which have attained maturity†.

L 1

48. From

\* A Gentleman who had great experience in the fisheries, favoured me with the following remarks on this subject. — "There are, said he, many different qualities of herrings, which may be known at sight, or otherwise. The best are a thick short fish, which, on being examined, have a fat yellowish swimming-bag; those that are longer, and have this bag whiter, and more like a string, are of an inferior quality; but the worst are those that are long and thin, and have a bag blown up with air."

† The herring is a delicate fish, which is killed by a very small degree of violence. Whenever it is taken out of the water, even tho' it seems

48. From the whole of these facts, it will, I hope, appear, that though the natural history of this wonderful little fish is not as yet enough known to enable us to speak with certainty as to many particulars concerning it, yet there seems to be no reason to doubt, that the generally received opinion concerning its migrations, is altogether erroneous; and that those general rules which have been deduced as to the goodness or badness of large or small herrings, or as to the size or quality of such as have been caught at an early or late season of the year, cannot be relied upon, the exceptions being so numerous as to leave no room for establishing the rule.

49. Many to have received no hurt, it gives a small squeak, and immediately expires; and though it be thrown instantly back into the water, it never recovers.—Hence arises the proverb, *as dead as a herring*.

No conjecture can be made relating to its food. It seems to be nourished by some substance that abounds every where in the sea-water in prodigious quantities, though too minute for observation.—Were it not every where present in the water, the shoals are so great, that those which come last, must suffer for want of food, and become lean. This is never taken notice of by fishermen. It is observed, that the stomach contains only a quantity of slimy matter, unless it be very near the spawning-time, when a few small fish are sometimes found in the stomach: they are then called *sea fish*, being more full of blood than at other seasons: they never take bait but when in this state, and very seldom then.

Some fanciful people, in order to make the history of their migrations complete, describe them as being led forward by a leader who directs their course, who has been called their *king*. No such thing is even believed by any of the fishermen.

When a great body of herrings are in the water, they can be distinctly perceived by the smell, as I myself frequently experienced.

They sometimes swim very near the surface, and sometimes at a greater depth, as has been said; but the circumstances that occasion the one or the other, have not been observed. It does not depend on the season of the year, nor, by what I could learn, on any observed peculiarity of weather.

At times they seem to take pleasure in rising to the surface of the water, and putting up their noses, and instantly drawing back. This occasions a little pattering noise, like the sound of a few large drops of rain on the water; which is denominated by the natives on the shores they frequent, the *play of herrings*. It is most usually observed in a still calm evening; and at these times, they are thought not to enter readily into

49. Many of the facts above stated would seem to indicate, that tho' the herring may be in some measure accounted a roving fish, yet that it in many cases seems to be pretty much confined to one ground, where it breeds and remains, nearly as a particular breed of sheep, if left to itself, would not depart very far from its native hills. Some facts indeed seem to point as if there were some diversity in the shape and other qualities of particular breeds of this kind of fish, like that which we observe with regard to oxen, sheep, &c. The large size, and uncommonly fine quality of the Manx and Loch-line herrings, when compared with those of Yarmouth and Dunbar; the uniform small size, and compact form of the Drontheim herrings, when compared with those much larger that are frequently caught on the west coast of Lewis, seem to give some obscure indications of this sort.—But we are as yet by far too little advanced in our knowledge on this subject, as even to dare to hazard a conjecture on this head.

L I 2

50. Mr.

into the nets, and therefore it is not thought a favourable indication of the success of the fishery for that night.

But the most wonderful peculiarity relating to the economy of that little fish, was one that I never had an opportunity of observing myself, but which I was assured was a fact, by every person acquainted with the fisheries who spoke with me on that subject. I therefore tell it to the Reader as I had it, without contradicting or confirming it, tho' I rather suspect the opinion has taken its rise from inaccurate observations.—It is, say they, a certain fact, that at particular times, in those lochs where herrings abound, a strong smart sound is heard, like the report of a pistol when fired. This sound, it is supposed, is in some inconceivable way produced by the herrings themselves, and is always accounted a certain proof that they are immediately to leave that place. When the sound is heard, or supposed to be heard, it is said the herrings have *cracked*; and, in that case, it never fails but that the whole are gone before next day. Whatever truth may be in this, there can be no doubt but the herrings frequently withdraw from any loch in a very short time, and leave no vestige of them behind.

Mr. Knox of Bymouth remarks, it is observable for a day before, as well as some days after a northerly blast, there is seldom much success; whether the herrings knowing by some natural instinct of its coming on go off into deep water, or whether they keep at the bottom to avoid the surge, I will not take upon me to say.



50. Mr. Macdonell of Barrisdale is one of the few men I have met with, who has attempted to make any observations on this subject. Some others I have found, who are convinced that herrings do actually breed in our own seas, and only retire to the bottom, where they remain less active than at other seasons, during the time we do not observe them on our coasts. This conjecture seems to gain force from the observation, that herrings are caught in the shallow seas near London, where nets can be let down near the bottom, at a season of the year when they cannot be found in our deeper seas, where no net could reach them\*. But however this may be, Mr. Macdonell above named thinks he can distinguish, in the lochs with which he is acquainted, two kinds of herrings:—one he calls home-bred fish, which he knows by certain peculiarities of shape, &c. from all others;—the others he calls foreign fish, or such as have been bred elsewhere, and only occasionally come into the loch that does not belong to them; the native herrings themselves sometimes in their turn making a tour elsewhere, but return again.—I take it not upon me to say that this theory is just, more than the other. Much of conjecture must be in every thing of this nature; and long and attentive observation is necessary, before it can either be confirmed or rejected. But the following remarks, with which he in the most obliging manner favoured me, in answer to some queries I put to him in writing, appear to me so very ingenious and important on this subject, that I cannot think they should be concealed from the Public.

\* Perhaps the progress of the herrings could be best traced by means of other fish: for, in general, the herring is preferred as a bait to all others, either by cod or ling. If, therefore, the herrings be in those seas that are not too deep for these fish, it is to be presumed they will be found in the stomach of the cod or ling when caught. Cod are seldom found in water that exceeds 30, or at most 40 fathoms; ling have been caught in 400 fathoms water: if the herring does not sink to a greater depth than that, therefore, they might be traced by means of these fish.

51. "It may not, says he, be improper here to insert a few observations I made on the herrings in our bays, that in some degree distinguish them from those of the neighbouring ones. The herrings of this loch (that is Loch-Urn) and Loch-Duich, I mean the home-bred ones, are short, their bellies prominent, their backs thick, and rather hollow, or bending inwards about the middle of it, than straight; and as the herrings of both bays seem to be the same, when they leave Loch-Duich, they generally cast up here. Those of Loch-Nevish have more of the salmon shape, are stronger, and have large black and full eyes. Those of Loch Na-naugh have something that distinguish them from both, and so forth. Not but that the same shoal may sometimes visit all these bays, and perhaps many more."

52. On this subject I shall beg leave to subjoin a few other remarks made by the same ingenious and attentive observer.

53. "About eleven years ago, says he, a very large shoal of foreign fish appeared at Garloch about the beginning of August, being the only one of that kind that I remember to have seen so early in the season. Their course was from the north southward, and in their progress filled all the lochs and bays as far as Loch-Duich, and even that loch. A small branch of it came to this loch, continued in it five days, and then disappeared, carrying with them a small body of home-bred fish they found in the loch. They continued, however, longer in the bays to the northward, then retired to the offing till winter, when they returned to these bays; I mean to the northern ones, and to those on the north and east of Skye, where they remained until the beginning of January. In this manner they continued to make their appearance early and late for five years, or until the whole body of them were destroyed; nor did I hear, nor do I think that this shoal ever removed farther to the southward or westward. It is remarkable, that the home-bred fish were  
all

*all along distinguishable among them.* Since that time, no considerable shoal of *foreign* fish appeared in my district; though now and then a few, probably the remains of the great shoal, were distinguishable among the home-bred fish.

54. "In the year 1753, a very large shoal of foreign fish came into Loch-broom, and the bays in its neighbourhood, in winter. They continued their visits for three or four years; then slackened. Soon thereafter, they appeared in Barra, in winter likewise. They continued a year or two, and then made off.—The winter following, they came into the bays on the west side of Skye, in immense quantities, and continued to return regularly every October or November till the year 1765, and afterwards in smaller bodies till 1768, when they entirely vanished, or I suppose were all destroyed."

55. What a pity it is that so attentive an observer should not be placed in a condition to extend his observations farther, and to benefit the fisheries by his uncommon skill and indefatigable assiduity!—This is that Mr. Macdonell, who, when a boy, was engaged in the rebellion in 1745, for which he was condemned, and respited; and after eighteen years confinement in the Castle of Edinburgh, was at last pardoned and liberated.

56. The foregoing observations are only meant to show, that we should not blindly adopt either the theory or the practice of others.—I do not attempt to substitute any theory in place of one that is evidently liable to great objections:—my aim is rather to induce Gentlemen to think for themselves, and collect facts on this very curious subject, than to raise any useless fabric on imperfect foundations.

## APPENDIX, No. IV.

*MEMORIAL of the Earl of Galway and others, to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, dated London April, 15, 1783.*

**S**HEWETH, That attempts have been lately made in Scotland, to salt beef and pork to a considerable extent, both for use of ships in their voyages, and for exportation to foreign markets. And if reasonable encouragement is held out to such as may think proper to carry on this branch of trade in Great Britain, it might in time prove very beneficial both to the landed and commercial interests thereof; because the farmers and graziers would then have stronger inducements to raise and fatten cattle and hogs, when they could at all times find a good and ready market for them; and the merchant would not always be under the necessity of either importing these articles from Ireland, or sending his ships to that kingdom, not only for a supply to his correspondents abroad, but also for the very provisions requisite for the use of his ship during her voyage. Nevertheless, as the laws stand at present relative to the duties upon salt, and to the drawbacks upon the exportation of salted provisions, it appears absolutely impracticable, that any attempts made in Great Britain to cure beef and pork for exportation, or for the use of ships during their voyage, can be attended with success to those who may engage in such a business. And if such is the fact, which will appear by the following observations, it is equally impossible, that the farmer or grazier can have sufficient encouragement to raise and fatten cattle and hogs, because he would not find a ready market for them, should he increase his present quantity to any considerable extent.

That,



That, either owing to inattention, or some other cause, Scotland, as the law stand at present, is not even upon a footing with England in the article of curing beef and pork for exportation, in two very essential points, viz. 1<sup>st</sup>. That in England, the drawback of five shillings per barrel is received upon the exportation of a barrel containing 32 gallons of well-cured beef or pork, whether it is cured with English or foreign salt separately, or with a mixture of each; whereas in Scotland, no such drawback, or any drawback whatever indeed, is allowed upon such a barrel, *unless cured with foreign salt alone*; nay, what is more remarkable, no beef or pork cured with a mixture of salt, can, as the Law at present stands, be exported from Scotland, even without the bounty or drawback, and even although the Scots salt used therein has paid the equalizing duty with England. It is true, the Commissioners of the Customs, upon application, generally permit such to be exported; but they never, and it is presumed, cannot allow the drawback of five shillings per barrel on the exportation of provisions so cured with a mixture of salts. Now, this hardship will appear particularly distressing to Scotland, when it is considered, that in order to cure beef and pork properly to stand a warm climate, it is essentially necessary that it should be first rubbed with *small or home-made salt*, as is the universal practice in Ireland, and lie in the pickle thereof from ten to twenty days, in order to draw off the blood and other superfluous juices, which is called Pining; for, *if great or foreign salt* was used in this part of the process, the juices of the provisions would be so much exhausted by the strength thereof, and they would thereby become so dry and hard, that they would be unfit almost for use, at least for sale in a well supplied market. After being so rubbed and pined with small salt, the provisions are taken out of the steeps, and then packed away with great salt in casks proper for exportation; and those conversant in the business,

business, know how necessary great or foreign salt is for this purpose: 2d, In England, a proportional drawback is allowed of two shillings and sixpence upon the exportation of half-barrels; whereas in Scotland no drawback is allowed upon any casks under the size of 32 gallons, even although the beef or pork therein is cured with *foreign salt* alone,—a hardship obvious and well known to those conversant in the business, many half-barrels being wanted for the convenience of stowage, and the supply of the West-India islands.

That the memorialists do not mean to insinuate, that even if Scotland was put upon a footing with England in these two particulars, any attempts made there to cure provisions for exportation, or for the use of ships during their voyages, will be attended with success; while the salt-duties, and bounties or drawbacks on salted beef and pork, remain as they at present are; neither can such attempts be attended with success in England, as will be evident from the following considerations:

*First*, At the time of the Union, the duty in England upon home-made salt was only 3s. 4d. per bushel of 36 lib. and upon foreign great salt only 6s. 14d. per bushel of 84 lib; and, at that period, the drawback paid in England, upon the exportation of beef or pork properly cured, was 5s. per barrel of 32 gallons wine-measure; which article was, by the 6th article of the Treaty of Union, extended to Scotland; upon paying at the custom-house of exportation, the equalizing duty with England on Scots salt used in curing such provisions. Now, as it takes about a bushel of home-made salt, and nearly half-a-bushel of foreign great salt, to cure a barrel of beef or pork properly for exportation, and for the pickle to fill it up when shipped, the duties thereon, according to the above-mentioned rate, would be about 6s. 9d. By this drawback, therefore, of 5s. per barrel, there was about 1s. 9d. paid to the revenue on each barrel exported, provided

provided the proportions of home-made and foreign salt were used as above. If there was a greater proportion of home-made salt used than above-mentioned, the duty to the revenue would be less, and *vice versa*. At present, however, the duty on home-made salt is 5s. *per* bushel of 56 lib. and upon foreign great salt 10s. 4d. *per* bushel of 84 lib.; the amount of which duty, in the above proportions used in curing a barrel of beef or pork, is 10s. 6d.; while, at the same time, the drawback upon exportation is no more still than 5s. Here, then, is an evident disadvantage of 3s. 5d. *per* barrel, which a person who cures beef or pork in Britain now labours under, more than he did before the late duties in 1780 and 1782 were laid upon salt.

2dly, The very heavy duties necessary to be paid down upon foreign salt, before it can be removed from the King's cellars, is another very great disadvantage and discouragement to any person who cures beef for exportation in Great Britain. This duty, as stated above, is now about 10s. 4d. *per* bushel of 84 lib.; so that the proportion thereof, being half-a-bushel as above mentioned, used upon each barrel of salted beef or pork, is 5s. 2d. besides the duty upon a bushel of home-made salt also used therein, to be paid before it can be removed from the salt-pans; making in all fully one-fourth part of the whole value of each barrel of beef or pork when ready for market. This requires a great stock to be employed in such a business, even if the whole duties were to be drawn back at exportation, which deters a British merchant from engaging in it; especially when he considers, that in Ireland no duty whatever is paid upon Irish-made salt, only 3d. *per* bushel on British, and 4d. *per* bushel on foreign great salt; and on exportation of the provisions from thence, the merchant pays a farther duty of one shilling *per* barrel for beef, and 1s. 6d. for pork, all Irish money. The advantage, therefore, that the Irish has over the British merchant, is, in this respect,

habivonq

so

so evident, that it is unnecessary to say any thing farther upon it.

3dly, A third disadvantage under which a person would labour who cures beef or pork in Great Britain is, That no drawback whatever is allowed on the exportation thereof, whether intended for the use of ships crews during their voyage, or for home consumption. When the duty upon the importation of Irish provisions into Great Britain was 3s. 4d. per barrel, and at the same time the duties payable in Great Britain were only 3s. 4d. per bushel on home-made, and 6s. 11d. per bushel on foreign great salt, this restriction of the bounty upon beef and pork exported, would not materially affect the merchant who cured such provisions in Great Britain. But now, when it is considered that the duty upon importation of Irish provisions into Britain is wholly withdrawn, or taken off, while at the same time the duty upon home-made salt is increased to 5s. and upon foreign to 10s. 4d. per bushel, it is evident that no British merchant can cure beef or pork, for the use of ships crews, or for home-consumption, under such great disadvantages, but will import from Ireland all that is necessary for him to do, and that 7s. or 8s. cheaper per barrel than he can cure them in Great Britain, by the saving alone of the duties upon salt; and the consumption of salted provisions for ships use in particular, is so very material, that few or no persons in Great Britain will engage in the curing beef or pork at all, unless they have some chance of supplying these articles for that consumption, which, in the present situation of matters, it is impossible they can have, for the reasons above assigned.

4thly, Another considerable disadvantage the curers of provisions for exportation in Britain are under, is, That no barrel is entitled to any drawback whatever, unless it contains 32 gallons English wine measure; and half-barrels in proportion. The memorialists do not know whether any Acts of Parliament in England specify



provided the proportions of home-made and foreign salt were used as above. If there was a greater proportion of home-made salt used than above-mentioned, the duty to the revenue would be less, and *vice versa*. At present, however, the duty on home-made salt is 5s. *per* bushel of 56 lib. and upon foreign great salt 10s. 4d. *per* bushel of 84 lib.; the amount of which duty, in the above proportions used in curing a barrel of beef or pork, is 10s. 6d.; while, at the same time, the drawback upon exportation is no more still than 5s. Here, then, is an evident disadvantage of 3s. 5d. *per* barrel, which a person who cures beef or pork in Britain now labours under, more than he did before the late duties in 1780 and 1782 were laid upon salt.

2dly, The very heavy duties necessary to be paid down upon foreign salt, before it can be removed from the King's cellars, is another very great disadvantage and discouragement to any person who cures beef for exportation in Great Britain. This duty, as stated above, is now about 10s. 4d. *per* bushel of 84 lib.; so that the proportion thereof, being half-a-bushel as above mentioned, used upon each barrel of salted beef or pork, is 5s. 2d. besides the duty upon a bushel of home-made salt also used therein, to be paid before it can be removed from the salt-pans; making in all fully one-fourth part of the whole value of each barrel of beef or pork when ready for market. This requires a great stock to be employed in such a business, even if the whole duties were to be drawn back at exportation, which deters a British merchant from engaging in it; especially when he considers, that in Ireland no duty whatever is paid upon Irish-made salt, only 3s. *per* bushel on British, and 4½d. *per* bushel on foreign great salt; and on exportation of the provisions from thence, the merchant pays a farther duty of one shilling *per* barrel for beef, and 1s. 6d. for pork, all Irish money. The advantage, therefore, that the Irish has over the British merchant, is, in this respect,

babivon

so

so evident, that it is unnecessary to say any thing farther upon it.

3dly, A third disadvantage under which a person would labour who cures beef or pork in Great Britain is, That no drawback whatever is allowed on the exportation thereof, whether intended for the use of ships crews during their voyage, or for home consumption. When the duty upon the importation of Irish provisions into Great Britain was 3s. 4d. per barrel, and at the same time the duties payable in Great Britain were only 3s. 4d. per bushel on home-made, and 6s. 11d. per bushel on foreign great salt, this restriction of the bounty upon beef and pork exported, would not materially affect the merchant who cured such provisions in Great Britain. But now, when it is considered that the duty upon importation of Irish provisions into Britain is wholly withdrawn, or taken off, while at the same time the duty upon home-made salt is increased to 5s. and upon foreign to 10s. 4d. per bushel, it is evident that no British merchant can cure beef or pork, for the use of ships crews, or for home consumption, under such great disadvantages, but will import from Ireland all that is necessary for him to do, and that 7s. or 8s. cheaper per barrel than he can cure them in Great Britain, by the saving alone of the duties upon salt; and the consumption of salted provisions for ships use in particular, is so very material, that few or no persons in Great Britain will engage in the curing beef or pork at all, unless they have some chance of supplying these articles for that consumption, which, in the present situation of matters, it is impossible they can have, for the reasons above assigned.

4thly, Another considerable disadvantage the curers of provisions for exportation in Britain are under, is, That no barrel is entitled to any drawback whatever, unless it contains 32 gallons English wine measure, and half-barrels in proportion. The memorialists do not know whether any Acts of Parliament in England specify

cify the quantity of beef and pork to be packed in each barrel; but the Scots Act, 1st Queen Anne, § iii. cap. 3. which enacts, That each barrel shall contain 8 gallons Scotch measure, being a little more than 28 gallons English wine measure only, requires 200 lib. well-pined beef or pork to be packed in each barrel. And it is somewhat extraordinary, that the 8th article of the Union, by which the drawback on exportation of 5s. per barrel is granted to Scotland, is wholly silent both as to the size of the barrels, and quantity to be packed therein: And the British Act, 3th Geo. I. cap. xviii. § 15. which enacts, That, "as the herring-barrels contain only 8 gallons 2 pints Scotch measure, which is only 29 gallons 3 pints 1½ gill English measure, they shall, after the 1st June 1726, be the same all over Britain, and contain 32 gallons,"—relates only to the size of barrels used in packing herrings, without taking any notice of the size of those of beef and pork: nor, so far as the memorialists know, has there been any Act of Parliament since, relative to the size of such barrels. It would appear, therefore, that the barrel of 8 gallons Scotch measure required by the Act of Queen Anne to contain 200 lib. well-pined beef or pork, is entitled, in Scotland, to the drawback of 5s. on exportation: But the contrary practice has crept in; as no barrel containing beef or pork is allowed the drawback, unless it be 32 gallons English wine measure. A barrel of 28 gallons English wine measure, will contain 200 lib. of well-pined beef and pork; and there is just that quantity packed into the barrels used in Ireland, which at the same time never contain more than 28 gallons. If, therefore, it is not necessary to pack more than 200 lib. well-pined beef or pork in a barrel; and if a barrel of 28 gallons will contain that quantity, which there is not a doubt of; why should not the British merchant be allowed to use barrels of that size, and to recover the drawback upon exportation, in the proportion they bear to 32 gallons? If he is not allowed

ed to use such, one of these consequences must naturally follow, either that the provisions must be loosely packed, which is very pernicious; or otherwise, that from 25 to 30 lib. more beef or pork than an Irish barrel contains, must be packed into each British barrel containing 32 gallons. But the barrel containing 28 gallons only, is found from experience to be the most handy and convenient at a foreign market; and, strange as it may appear, it is certain, that great complaints are made of British barrels in the West Indies, on account of their size only, although they contained from 25 to 30 lib. more beef than the Irish barrels, and have been sold at the current price of the latter. It is a great discouragement, therefore, to the British merchant, to be obliged to pack 25 or 30 lib. more beef in his barrel, while at the same time, instead of receiving any advantage therefrom at a market, he experiences the reverse, on account of their size and unhandiness.

The memorialists beg leave further to notice, that a barrel of beef salted for home-consumption, pays about 10s. duty on salt to the revenue; whereas a barrel of beef from Ireland, pays only 1s. duty to the revenue of Ireland on salt, and none to the revenue of Britain on its importation and consumption here; so that there is a premium of 8s. *per* barrel, which Irish beef consumed in Britain, has over that of Britain.

It is further to be observed, that after consuming a barrel of beef or pork cured with foreign salt, there is found in the barrel, at an average, about a quarter of a bushel of unconsumed salt. The duty on this quantity is about 2s. 6d. which the revenue loses on Irish beef and pork consumed in Britain; as this salt is used, and very proper for culinary purposes.

The memorialists have stated the disadvantages under which the British merchant at present labours, in curing beef or pork, either for exportation, the use of his ships on their voyages, or home-consumption: And they humbly hope they are only necessary



to be pointed out, to induce the Legislature to give the necessary redress and relief, especially for the two first-mentioned objects; as nothing is more certain, than that this branch of trade, if an adequate and proper encouragement is given to it, will not only greatly advantage the revenue in the duties upon salt, but there will also be much money kept in the country, which is sent elsewhere for salted provisions, tallow, and hides; and, in time, these two last articles, so necessary to the poor, after being manufactured into soap, candles, and shoes, &c. will thereby become cheaper in Great Britain.

Your Memorialists, therefore, humbly pray your Lordships, to take the premises into consideration; and that your Lordships will be pleased to give your countenance and support to a bill, which may put the merchant who cures beef or pork, upon the same footing with the curers of herrings, as to the duties upon salt; allowing him, in the same manner, to receive home-made salt from the pans, and foreign salt from the cellars, where it may be lodged under the joint custody of the importer and officer of the revenue, to be used for curing beef or pork for exportation, or for the use of the navy, or merchants ships in their voyages; under such oaths and regulations, and under such penalties as shall be thought proper. And more particularly, that, for the benefit of the revenue, there shall be paid for every barrel of 28 gallons containing salted beef in pickle, 1s.; and of pork, 1s. 6d.; and so in proportion for casks of a larger or lesser size: And that for each cwt. of dried flesh, there shall be paid a duty of 4d.

(Signed) GALLOWAY.

STAIR.

KEITH STEWART.

J. HUNTER BLAIR.

N. B. *From*

N. B. From the foregoing state of facts it appears, that the duty payable to the revenue on a barrel of beef or pork in England, is, at the present time,

For one bushel of home-made salt,	L	0	5	0
One-half ditto of foreign salt,		0	5	2
Total,	—	—	0	10 2

On a barrel of Irish beef or pork :

Internal duty on home-made salt	L.	0	0	0
---------------------------------	----	---	---	---

On  $\frac{1}{2}$  bushel of foreign salt, at

$4\frac{1}{2}$ d. per bushel,		0	0	$2\frac{1}{2}$
-------------------------------	--	---	---	----------------

Total,	—	—	0	0	$2\frac{1}{2}$
--------	---	---	---	---	----------------

Difference, — L. 0 9 11 $\frac{1}{2}$

if for home-consumption, in both countries, or for ship provisions, no duty or drawback being allowed on them.

Irish beef, if brought to England, pays a duty of one shilling per barrel on exportation in Ireland; and, say, one shilling more for freight: At that rate, a barrel of Irish beef can be afforded in England, 7s. 11d. cheaper than a barrel of British cured beef—the prime cost of the meat being supposed the same.

A British barrel of beef contains 32 gallons; an Irish barrel only 28: therefore, if equally well packed, the British barrel will contain 28 lib. more than the Irish barrel; which, at 3d. per lib. is 7s. An Irish barrel of beef, therefore, may be afforded for ship provisions, at the rate of 16s. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. cheaper than an English barrel of ditto, supposing the fresh meat had cost in both cases threepence per pound.

Irish beef imported into Britain, pays no duty to the British revenue; but a barrel of British ditto pays 10s. 2d.: And as there remains in the barrel, about half-a-bushel of salt after the beef is taken out, which is good for culinary purposes, the duty on which would be at least 2s. 6d. the British revenue, at this rate, loses 12s. 8d. for every barrel of Irish beef and pork imported into Britain, or consumed in ship provisions, which it would have drawn if British salt-meat had been used in its stead. We thus may

may be said to have given a bounty of 12s. 8d. on every barrel of Irish beef consumed by British subjects, with a view to give them a monopoly of this branch of trade against ourselves.

It has been shewn (page 214.) that about 156,000 barrels of Irish beef and pork are annually consumed in Britain; and, computing ships provisions to equal that, it would be 312,000 barrels per annum; the bounty of which amounts, at the above rate, to L. 197,600 per annum; What good reason can be assigned, why Britain should sacrifice so much for repressing her own agriculture and manufactures?

#### APPENDIX, No. V.

*Abstract of Mr Watt's Survey and Estimate of the Expence of making a Navigable Canal, with ten feet water, from Fort-William to Inverness.*

##### *Description of the Country.*

THE Highland mountains, which commence at the Frith of Clyde, extend upon the west side of the country, to the northernmost parts of Scotland; in general, they begin close at the sea-shore: they are intersected by deep, but narrow valleys; the quantity of arable land is exceedingly small, and its produce greatly lessened by the prodigious rains that fall upon that coast. The tops of the mountains are craggy, and their sides are steep; but they produce a grass very proper for breeding small black cattle, and in some places for feeding sheep.

The sea-coast is exceedingly rugged and rocky, and abounds with great inlets, which are excellent harbours. It is sheltered by many islands, which, like the main land, are generally mountainous and rocky, but rather more fertile.

The salt-water lochs, or arms of the sea, are nurseries for fish, of which many kinds are found in plenty in

in the seas upon those coasts. The herrings, the cod, and ling, are those which are taken in greatest quantities, and exported to foreign parts; but there are other species which may perhaps become subjects of trade.

The shores produce in abundance, the *Alga Marina*, or sea-weed; which being burnt, makes the alkaline salt called kelp. The quantities of this commodity made and consumed of late years, are immense; and the rents paid for the kelp of some shores, have borne a great proportion to that of the land they surrounded.

There are in many parts of the country, considerable coppice-woods of oak and other timber. The oak woods have been greatly hurt by the destructive practice of cutting them for their bark, the timber being often left to rot upon the spot.

The east coast of Scotland exhibits a very different prospect. The high mountains are several miles from the sea-coast; the intermediate space consists of arable lands, intermixed with hills of a moderate size and height. In many places, great tracts of level ground are in a very advanced state of cultivation; but the country in general will admit of improvements, and the spirit of making them seems to be daily increasing. Altho' the sea-ports are in general inconvenient, and the coast no-way sheltered, yet it is lined with towns, the inhabitants of which are industrious. In many places they subsist by fishing, tho' the fish upon that coast are not to be compared, either for plenty or size, to those upon the west side of the country.

The situation of the Murray-Frith will be best conceived by viewing a map of Scotland. It is a great arm of the sea, separating the counties of Murray and Inverness from Ross-shire and Sutherland. The lands upon both sides of it are of a moderate height, and the navigation is esteemed exceeding safe. About ten miles from Inverness, the Frith is contracted



to a small breadth by the point of Ardresfer, where Fort-George is built, and the opposite point of Chanery in Rosshire: above that place it is considerably wider, and extends about four miles beyond Inverness, where it ends in a shallow bay at the mouth of the water of Beaulie.

The town of Inverness is situated upon the river Ness, about a mile from its mouth. The river is navigable in neap tide, for vessels drawing nine feet water, to the harbour, which is a little below the town.

The grounds from the sea-coast to Inverness, are level; but, near it, they rise sloping to a considerable height, which is the eastern boundary of the Highland mountains. It may not be improper to observe, that in going northwards by the east coast, it is in the country hereabouts that we first find the Gaelic or Erse language, the common dialect of the inhabitants: On the west coast, it is used in all the countries north of the Frith of Clyde.

The town of Inverness is of a middling size, tolerably well built, and has a good bridge over the Ness. It has not much trade, excepting the exportation of the salmon caught in the river, the quantity of which is considerable; and also a manufacture of sail-cloth and twine, which employs many hands, and is in a thriving condition.

At Inverness a valley begins, which extends south-west in a straight line, quite across the island, to Lochiel, an arm of the Atlantic Sea, on which Fort-William is situated; the whole being an extent of fifty-nine miles.—Through this valley the new communication is proposed to be made. The mountains which bound it, are steep and craggy: on the east side of the country, they are of a moderate height, and form continued ridges parallel to the valley: but from the middle of the country, to the west coast, they are much higher, and more divided by narrow valleys or glens. The stupendous hill of Ben-Nevis, com-

monly

monly esteemed the highest in Britain, stands upon the shore of Lochiel, near Fort-William.

This extensive tract, the regularity of which is astonishing in such a rugged country, is naturally divided into seven districts: the three most considerable are entirely filled with water from hill to hill, so as in many places not to leave a passage for the highway.

The four parts that are dry land, are not level plains, but have considerable inequalities, which may be avoided or remedied in the passage of a canal.

The first district is the valley of the Ness, which extends eight miles from the side of the Murray-Frith, to the east end of Loch-Ness. The river Ness, which is large and rapid, runs through this district, in a somewhat winding channel; and the valley itself is above a mile wide.

The second district is Loch-Ness, a fresh-water lake, twenty-two miles long, and one mile wide, said to be in general an hundred fathoms deep. It is the source of the river Ness, and is very straight, and free from shallows or detached rocks. It is navigated upon by a sloop belonging to the Government, and by a few boats: the principal employment of the latter, is to carry the birch timber that grows upon the sides of the lake, and the fir-timber which comes from Glen-Morrison, a valley upon the north side of it, to the head of the river Ness, down which it is floated in rafts, that river not being navigable. Both sides of Loch-Ness are woody; but the woods, consisting mostly of birch, alder, and hazle, with a small intermixture of oak and ash, are not valuable.

M m 2

The

I have, says Mr. Watt in another place, a little to add to my former description of Loch-Ness. It is a beautiful piece of water, bounded upon each side by rocky mountains, which in many places are covered with wood. Except at the east end, it is every where deep close to the shore: I imagine, that its great depth is the cause of its never freezing; for, the water that is taken out of it, is as much affected by frost as any other. I have heard, that in a storm, the waves run higher upon it than they do at sea; but I was, at the east end of it during the time of a most violent one at south-west, and I saw no

waves

The third division is the land lying between the west end of Loch Ness, and the east end of Loch-Oich. In this valley there are several small rocky hills: the river Oich runs near to the north side of it, on a bottom of loose stones and gravel; and Fort-Augustus is situated here, upon a point jutting into Loch-Ness. The length of the valley is five miles, and its breadth about half a mile.

Loch-Oich, a fresh-water lake, four miles in length, and a quarter of a mile in breadth, constitutes the fourth division. It is not so deep as Loch-Ness; but (except in one place of no great extent, where the bottom is mud) is sufficiently so for the purposes of navigation †. It receives its waters principally from the Garry, which is large; enters it upon the north-side; and is supplied itself from Loch-Garry and Loch-Queich, two large lakes lying among the mountains to the west. Loch-Oich discharges itself by the river of the same into Loch-Ness: The mountains upon its south  
 wave that would have deterred me from venturing upon it, with skilful boatmen, even in a small boat.

The unfavourable weather hindered me from making an accurate survey of the coasts of Loch-Ness: I attempted to find its length by trigonometry; but its great extent, and the want of a proper base, made the result dubious. The draughts I have given of it, and of Loch-Lochic, are therefore to be considered only as giving general ideas of the shape of these lochs, in which their direction is ascertained, and their lengths and breadths nearly given.

† The shallow place mentioned in the text, is occasioned by the deposition of gravel and mud brought down by the water of Garry, which has already formed two small islands, and narrowed the loch very much. Were the loch here deepened, it would be gradually filling up, so as to require to have that expence often repeated; and I have no doubt but in a short time this loch will be filled up entirely in the middle by this mud, the water of Garry forcing for itself a passage over it. To avoid the inconvenience of repeated cleanings, I would therefore propose, that a canal should be dug through that flat valley on the south of Loch-Oich, which doubtless has been formed by the mud carried down by the river, and therefore could offer no obstructions to the operation, but what might arise from the water cozing through it; and as it has probably been fine mud, the coarser parts being deposited near the mouth of the river, it would probably hold water so well as not to allow that inconvenience to be sensibly felt.

J. A. 1791. I have now stated to you the plan of the canal, and the

south side are very high and steep, but smooth, covered with earth, brush-wood, and grass: those upon the north are not so high, but more rugged; they are also in general covered with brush-wood. In Glengary, there are said to be valuable fir-woods; and the York-Buildings Company had once an iron furnace there.

Loch-Oich appears to me to be the highest point to which it is necessary to raise the canal. Its surface is about one hundred feet above the high water of neap tide. It is excellently formed for a canal partition: Its size will secure a reasonable supply of water; and much more than appears necessary for a navigation, may be collected in the lakes of Garry and Quich, to be reserved for dry seasons.

The fifth district is the land between the west end of Loch-Oich and the east end of Loch-Lochie. It is the highest part of the whole valley; the summit which the canal must pass through, being twenty-two feet above Oich. This summit, and the other inequalities of the district, appear to be wholly gravel and earth; and if I may judge from the steepness and regularity of the adjoining hills, the canal may be carried through the summit upon the level of Oich, without any risk of meeting rock. The ground declines very fast, both to the east and west; the valley is about half a mile wide here, and this district about two miles long.

Loch-Lochie, another large fresh-water lake, forms the sixth district; it is very deep, above half a mile wide, and ten miles and a half long. The mountains upon the north side are very lofty, and the most steep and craggy of any in the whole tract: On the south side, for part of the length, they are high, smooth, and steep, and are reckoned to produce the best grass of any in the Highlands. The grounds upon the remaining part of this shore, are irregular, but not very high. On the north side, and near the west end, the water of Arkeg enters it;—it comes from a lake of that name, situated about a mile north from Loch-Lochie, and of the same size with that lake.

On



On the banks of Loch-Arkeg are very extensive natural fir-woods belonging to the forfeited estate of Lochiel; they are now cutting, and the deals and timber are floated down the rivers of Arkeg and Lochie, neither of which are navigable for boats.

The seventh district is the valley in which the water of Lochie runs, from Loch-Lochie to Lochiel. It is more irregular than any of the others, but presents no difficulties but what may be surmounted. The Lochie is a river about the size of the Ness, and very rapid, having in one place a fall over rocks: it enters Lochiel upon its south shore.

Lochiel is about a mile wide, and communicates with the ocean by a larger arm of the sea, called the Linthe-Loch, the mouth of which is opposite to the south end of the Island of Mull. At the junction of Lochiel with the Linthe-Loch, there is a narrow place where the tide rushes both out and in with great violence; but neither that, nor any other part of these lochs, are esteemed dangerous for large vessels: and Lochiel is said to be every where sufficiently deep, except near the mouth of the water of Lochie, where the shore is shelving, and becomes so very low and shallow.

The town of Maryburgh of Fort William is small, and has scarce any trade but what arises from the garrison, and the exportation of the salmon taken in Lochie.

### ENDS OF THE MARYBURGH CANAL

	Length	Total	EXPENSE,
	of the	rise in	without taking
	Canal.	the	in the value of
	Canal.	Canal.	the land above
			plied by the Car-
			riat.
The canal upon the Ness,	1	49	34836
The canal upon the Glen,	5	59	37893
Greatest rise,			
Canal on the summit descending	2	26	28836
The Lochie canal,	7	73	61329
Total,	22	100	164030

The navigable lochs in this passage, are

			Height of its surface above high-water.	
			Ells.	Feet.
Loch-Nefs,	—	—	22	45
Loch-Oich,	—	—	4	100
Loch-Lochie,	—	—	10½	80
Total length of navigable fresh-water } lochs,			36½	
Length of canal to be cut,			22½	
Total distance between salt-water on } each side of the island,			59	

## APPENDIX, No. VI.

*OBSERVATIONS on the Canal proposed to be carried across the island from Fort-William to Inverness.*

**I**N the present state of the northern parts of Scotland, I do not conceive, that the internal commerce, were a small canal carried through there, would be sufficient for many years to raise a sum that would be capable of keeping the canal in repair and defraying the current expences of it—far less to return a proper annuity to pay for the interest of the money that would be wanted to execute the canal.—From which considerations, I should think it would by no means be advisable to attempt to carry through a canal of that kind in this place.

For the same reasons, I should be apprehensive, that a canal of ten or twelve feet in depth could not be executed with a reasonable prospect of making a return

return nearly adequate to the expence until many towns should be established in those parts: For, as most of the traffic from thence in small coasting vessels, must for many years be carried on to places to the southward of the Friths of Forth and Clyde, they would be so much in the track of going that way, that were the canal between these two friths compleated, and a canal carried across the isthmus of Cantire at Crinan, which may be done at a small expence, coasting vessels going southward would find it more convenient to go that way than to cross between Fort-William and Inverness: so that by them it would be very little used, and, of course, would not be of exceeding great utility.

From these considerations, it would seem that the only eligible plan for a canal in that place, would be one of great magnitude, on which ships of very considerable burthen could pass and repass freely without unloading. In that case, were the lockage-dues sufficiently moderate, all the trade from Liverpool, Clyde and other ports on the west of Britain, not even Bristol excepted, as well as from Dublin and other ports of Ireland, to Holland and the Baltic, would naturally pass that way,—as they would save a very long and hazardous navigation which must otherwise be undertaken. The same would happen with regard to the trade from Leith and every other place on the east coast, not even London excepted, to the West Indies, but more especially to the American States. At all times, this would be a much safer and more expeditious navigation than that which is at present pursued: But in time of war, the advantages from this canal would be very great: as the danger of being taken is greater in beating up the Channel than all the rest of the voyage, and consequently the insurance much higher, and the expence of waiting for convoy is much greater on that account. Many vessels, therefore, would pass this way, were a large canal made:

even

even those of Holland, Sweden, and Denmark; and consequently the returns would be much larger in that case than if it were of a smaller size.

A canal of the kind here alluded to, must be a work of great magnitude, and therefore should not be attempted without due consideration. Difficulties should be carefully weighed, and nothing attempted rashly. To pave the way for such an investigation, the following thoughts are submitted to the consideration of the Public:—

One objection has been often urged, which, unless it can be totally removed, ought to preclude every other disquisition on this subject. It is this:—The valley which extends from Fort-William to Inverness is bounded by a range of steep hills on each side running nearly in a parallel direction from sea to sea: of course, the wind, which by being confined to a narrow channel is there often very violent, blows in general directly along the valley either from the one end or the other, so as scarcely ever to be found there blowing across it. This is a fact that will not be disputed.—A consequence is, that it frequently happens that the wind blows for many weeks without intermission from the same quarter without shifting in the smallest degree; during all which time it might be directly a-head of any vessels that had occasion to pass it: and as the fresh-water lochs are too narrow to give sufficient room for turning up against the wind, the navigation must by this means be greatly retarded unless some way of obviating this difficulty can be devised.

Another objection arising from the same cause does not wear a much less formidable appearance as it is urged by some persons. They say, that the yards and other high timbers of a square-rigged vessel offer such a large surface to the wind, that it would be impossible for any force that could easily be commanded to drag a large vessel of that kind along a canal when the wind was right a-head.

These



These two objections appeared to me to be so plausible, and were urged so confidently by men of sense whom I looked upon to be much better judges of these matters than myself, that I for a long time believed they could scarcely be got over, and consequently despaired of having the prospect of that canal being ever attempted. I am now, however, informed by an authority that I hold to be of the most respectable kind, that these objections should be considered as of little weight, because they proceed upon erroneous data. I am assured, that the force necessary to move a very large square-rigged vessel in a stagnate canal, even when the wind is directly a-head, is very far from being of the formidable nature here represented: that the power of the men usually employed on board such vessels is altogether sufficient to carry them forward; and that by consequence, a very few horses, where their force can be applied, would be quite sufficient to accomplish it. The proof of this fact as well as the proof that it is possible for a vessel to be carried up the narrow locks in question against the wind, is the practice that invariably prevails in going up from Cronstadt to St. Petersburg.

If my information be right, there is an uninterrupted strong current sets down there from the river Neva into the Baltic, for several leagues from its top, which would carry a ship, without wind, at the rate of knots an hour. To work up against this current in the usual way would be impossible unless when a very brisk wind was blowing in a contrary direction; and as this can seldom be expected, it would have proved such an obstruction to the navigation as must have destroyed their trade entirely. To remedy that evil, anchors were sunk along the track at regular distances, with a proper rope and buoy affixed to each; and when a vessel comes into this current, and finds herself losing instead of gaining ground, the ship's boat is hoisted out, which carries a line to the rope affixed

to

to the anchor, which being fastened to it the vessel is warped up by means of the capstern. In the mean time the boat goes forward with another line to the next anchor which is taken in its turn; and so on they go till they reach the port. In this way I have been assured that a vessel may work up against both wind and tide at the rate of two or three knots an hour. If so, they could go much faster even when the wind is contrary in our fresh-water lochs where no current prevails, with the same force.

This objection being thus removed, it does not seem to be more useless labour to consider the other circumstances relating to this canal.

In every other respect Nature seems to have been here uncommonly kind for the forwarding such an undertaking. The whole distance from sea to sea is 59 miles; and if the Linnhe-Loch be considered as a part of the Channel, and that part of the Murray-Frith above Ardresier Point, it will then be about 100 miles, of which the whole is at present navigable water except 22½ miles of land. In respect to a supply of water also, the natural reservoirs are such as would afford a supply for a navigation much greater at least than can ever be expected there, without costing one farthing on that account. These natural reservoirs are, Lochs-Nefs, Oich, Garry, Lochy, Arreck, Quoich; the extent of whose surface may be guessed at by inspection of the map, which is so great as to make any computation of their exact magnitude be altogether unnecessary.

Another advantage, of a nature at least equally singular and much less to be expected in a mountainous country, is, that the valley is every-where of such a breadth as to admit of making a sufficient canal, and leave room at the same time for the rivers to flow freely in their natural channel, so that no quantity of superfluous water can ever prove hurtful to the canal. Thus would abundance be at all times at command, and never too much.

Another

Another advantage which is in a manner peculiar to this place, is, that these lakes, from some unknown cause, are scarcely ever known to freeze; the waters which issue from them, for the most part retaining such a tepid warmth as to go to the sea without freezing: and as the supply is so abundant, a current might be at that time allowed to flow through the canal sufficient to prevent a stagnation long enough to cool it. In consequence of this circumstance, a canal here would be open at almost all seasons of the year: an advantage that no other fresh-water canal in such a northern latitude has ever yet possessed.

The only other circumstance of material consequence that deserves to be attended to is the expence that would be necessary in forming that canal. And here also the situation is peculiarly favourable. The Reader will here cast his eye on Mr Watt's estimate above for a canal of ten feet deep. In almost every other situation that could be named, the expence of making a canal of much greater depth than that could scarcely be estimated, because the chance of meeting with rock is so great, and the hardness of that rock so indeterminate, that scarcely any idea of it can be formed. Here, however, the chance for meeting with rock (unless in two narrow ridges only) is so small as scarcely to deserve to be reckoned upon. The reasons on which this opinion is founded, are developed in the following note†, which I have been

† Any person who attentively considers the nature of the country here treated of, and who has been accustomed to remark the changes that time and the unceasing operation of natural causes produces on our globe, will very soon be satisfied that the whole of that valley which extends from Lochail to Loch Ness without interruption, has been, at a very distant period of time, either an uninterrupted chain of lochs, or a cavity of much greater depth than the surface of either the land or the water in that valley at present. There is no doubt but that in every part of the globe the rain is perpetually washing off a considerable part of the surface of the high lands, which is carried with the current into valleys, where it is deposited in many different ways, and thus gradually raises their surface to a greater height than

at the greater pains to specify in detail, as they may serve to give some notion of the practicability of such other canals as may come afterwards to be thought of in other parts of this country.

Upon the whole, tho' I am, from the foregoing considerations, fully convinced of the practicability of carrying

than they originally had. In level cultivated fields, the earth washed off forms a fine slimy mud which is only allowed to subside slowly in those places where the water stagnates, and there in time raises the bottom so high that what was originally a pool of clear water comes to be filled with reeds and flags and other tall deep-growing aquatic plants; and as the bottom continues to rise, aquatic grasses appear, and it becomes a bog. The bog gradually acquires solidity; and as it rises above the surface of the water becomes a meadow, and in time dry firm land fit for many purposes of agriculture. The progress is slow but certain, and may be illustrated by many well-known examples. The fens of Lincolnshire is one; the isle of Thanet another; and innumerable instances of the same kind in valleys and by the sides of rivers in every part of the kingdom might be here produced, were it judged necessary.

But though small accretions to the surface of the dry land are thus gradually making in the internal parts of the country, yet these are inconsiderable when compared to the much larger additions that are from the same causes made on the shallow shores of cultivated countries. There the fresh water impregnated with mud, rushes forward with such impetuosity during violent inundations, as to allow little to be deposited till that current is interrupted by the tide; but when it is thus rendered stagnant, a copious deposition of sediment takes place, forming that soft bottom called *sleetch*, which in the openings within the mouths of estuaries or friths is peculiarly abundant, and thus tends very speedily to fill them up, especially at the sides and in the deepest bays where the current is weakest. There the *sleetch* gradually rises to the surface, becomes covered with plants, remains for some time a salt marsh subject to be overflowed by high tides, till by slow degrees it gets above the level of the highest tides, becomes dry land fit for cultivation, and its origin is in time forgot by careless observers. The Delta in Egypt is a noted acquisition of this kind: The extensive and singularly fertile district called the Ukraine at the mouth of the Danube is another; The whole territory of Indostan a third; The fertile plains at the mouth of the Po below Ravenna are a fourth: The islands in the Adriatic on which Venice stands is another; and the whole of the Netherlands in our own neighbourhood is another very striking example of the same kind. The industry of the people of Holland has indeed forwarded the operations of Nature in that province by artificial aid; and thus, by excluding the fresh water from their land, they force it forward into their shallow seas, which are thus gradually filling up and will



rying a canal across the island from Inverness to Fort-William, of such dimensions as might admit of ships of burden passing through it without unloading; yet I am still more firmly convinced that till several large commercial towns shall be fully established on the west coast, and the improvement of the country in respect to manufactures and industry be carried much farther than we have a view of for a great many years to come, there

will in consequence thereof become in time, first marshes, and then dry land also. The same progress is going forward in the Baltic, which is gradually filling up; but from the want of tides in that sea, the deposition is more general over the whole bottom than it could be where tides prevailed, and less abundant towards the edges. Hence the origin of the troublesome shallows there, tho' the acquisition of land upon its shores be there more slow and less perceptible than in most other places.

These examples have been selected from foreign countries only because of their magnitude and notoriety, not because we want examples of the same kind in our own island. This process is peculiarly observable in the estuary of the Humber in England, which serves as an outlet to several great rivers that have a long course through fertile cultivated fields; and accordingly we find the shores of that estuary filled with deep silt, and the plains on each side rising gradually from soft bare mud to firm and fertile fields. At Barton this is peculiarly remarkable; and the greatest part of the country from Hull to York, but more evidently from Hull to Beverly, owes its origin to a gradual deposition of this kind of mud, which has in time become for the most part fertile meadows. The low fertile country on the banks of the Thames called the *Hundreds* of Essex, owes its origin to the same cause. And in the same manner have been produced those low fertile fields on the banks of the Tay and the Forth, called the *Carse* of Gowrie, and the *Carse* of Falkirk. Accretions of the same kind, though of much smaller extent, might be pointed out in several other parts of Scotland; but these, from the depth of water in general on our coasts, from the short run of our rivers, and from the rugged and mountainous nature of our country, must of necessity be not only less frequent and of smaller extent, but also of a nature in most cases extremely different from those we have hitherto had occasion to take notice of. The valley on each side of the Frith of Dornoch has been filled up so entirely in this way, as, for several miles towards the top of the level to which the tide flows, to leave no more open than a narrow channel like a canal just sufficient to allow a passage to the water of the river that there falls into the sea; though, from obvious causes, the deposition here consists rather of sand than silt.

In level cultivated countries, the mud washed off by rain is carried to a very great distance in the rivers before it subsides; but in rugged mountainous countries, instead of light mud and the finer parts of the  
mold,

there is no prospect that it could be a saving plan to be executed by individuals : And were Government much more disposed to advance money from the public funds than they seem to be at present, I should much doubt how far it would be prudent even to ask it. There are many other lesser works that could at a small expence be carried forward which are much better adapted to the present state of those countries, that ought first to be finished. To attempt such a large undertaking now,

mold, the torrents in their precipitous descent often sweep along with them large stones, gravel, and sand, which, on account of their great weight, are let fall by the stream at the bottom of the declivity, and the smaller parts only are hurried a little forward into the plain by the accelerated velocity with which the mountain-torrent sweeps along the plain when suddenly swelled by an unusual fall of rain. Hence it happens that thousands of small streams that are produced by a shower and disappear when it ceases, rushing with irresistible impetuosity over the lofty precipice, tear the bosom of the mountain, and carry its contents to the bottom : the stones remain near the place where they fall ; but the gravel and sand and lighter particles go forward to the plain, where they are gradually deposited as the stream loses its velocity. In this manner the valleys between mountains where the declivity is small, are gradually filled with stones, and gravel and sand, to a great depth : And as that part of the valley which has been filled up by one inundation is higher than other parts of it, the stream seeks for itself a new bed in the lower place ; which being filled up in its turn by succeeding inundations, the stream again alters its course, and so on till the whole valley between the mountains be successively filled up. In this manner very large excavations come in time to be filled up ; and beds of gravel, and small stones mixed with sand and some earth, are found, of very great depth, to occupy the bottom of almost every valley among mountains through which a stream passes over a surface of small declivity. From these considerations, and from having observed that the whole plain thro' which the river Lochy runs consists of one continued bed of gravel, (two small ridges of rocks excepted), and that the ground on which Fort-Augustus stands, and along the whole course of the river Oich, consists also of gravel, I conclude that both these valleys have been filled up probably from a great depth after this manner ; and that, of course, no obstruction would be met with in digging a canal there, but what might be very easily overcome. I had not an opportunity of examining the plain through which the river Ness flows ; but think there is great reason to believe that it has been originally of the same nature with the former. As there must ever be here more water than can be wanted for any canal, a small leakage would be of less consequence than usual.

would

would only divert the public attention from these more practicable works : And as the funds would probably fall short, it would in that case only serve to damp a spirit of enterprize, and in the end retard rather than promote the improvement of those countries.—From these considerations, I wish this project to be left to posterity : It will be enough if we can put things into such a train as to render this great work at some future period a necessary undertaking.

# APPENDIX, No. VII.

*Abstract of Mr Watt's Report and Estimate of the Expence of making a Canal of different depths across the Peninsula of Cantire at Tarbat and Crinan.*

*By the Tarbat passage.*

THE total distance between high-water-mark on each side the isthmus, is one mile.

The greatest perpendicular rise above high-water neap-tides, is forty-five feet.

The expence of a canal of seven feet deep, is estimated at \_\_\_\_\_ L. 17988 10 6

Ditto of a canal of ten feet deep, at \_\_\_\_\_ 23884 7 6

Ditto of a thorough cut without locks, of twelve feet deep at high-water neap-tides, at \_\_\_\_\_ 73849 9 5

Ditto of ditto fifteen feet deep, at \_\_\_\_\_ 120789 9 0

*By the Crinan passage.*

THE total distance between high-water-mark on each side the isthmus, is six miles and one-half.

The greatest rise above high-water neap-tides, is seventy-five feet.

The expence of a canal of seven feet deep, is estimated at \_\_\_\_\_ L. 34879 0 0

Ditto of a canal ten feet deep, at \_\_\_\_\_ 48495 5 7

APPEN-

## APPENDIX, No. VIII.

*Observations on the Canal proposed to be cut between  
Loch-Gilp and Loch-Crinan.*

THE benefits that would result to the community from the opening a canal to join Loch-fine and the Atlantic, through the valley that runs from Loch-Gilp to Loch-Crinan, are so many, and withal so obvious to any person who attends to the subject, as not to require here to be stated. It is admitted on all hands, that a canal there is not only practicable, but that it could be carried through at a very small expence; and that if ever the Hebrides are to be improved, and the fisheries to be carried on with proper spirit, these improvements must begin by the opening that canal.

In reflecting on this subject, there are two considerations that naturally attract attention, with regard to which opinions will differ, *viz.* 1<sup>st</sup>, What would be the most proper dimensions of the canal? and, 2<sup>d</sup>, At whose expence should it be executed, by the public funds, or by private adventurers?

With regard to the first question, there can be no doubt but that a large canal will be much more beneficial than a small one, could funds be obtained with equal ease for executing the one as the other: And if it can be made appear that this can be done, doubtless a large canal, I mean a canal from nine to twelve feet depth of water, would be much better than one of three or four feet deep only, or even of five or six.

When I speak of its being equally easy to raise money for executing a large canal as it would be to raise money, for making a canal of smaller dimensions, it can only be upon the supposition that a return by way of indemnification to the undertakers is expected to be made from the canal when finished; and, on this

N n

principle,



principle, I think it will be easy to show that the returns will be greater in proportion to the expence on a large than on a small canal so situated as that in question is.

It must be adverted to that this canal will serve to join two seas of considerable extent; and that there are no masses of bulky or weighty commodities immediately in that neighbourhood that would require to be carried through it to market; of course, all the commodities that would pass through it would be brought from a distance in ships, each of which, if it were a small canal, would be under the necessity of stopping till it could be unloaded by boats that were to carry the goods through the canal. This would be a tedious and expensive business, that every one who could do it would be desirous of avoiding.

In the next place, as the goods to be carried thro' that canal would be always intended for a more distant market *together*, not being intended to be there broke down so as to make up an assortment of other cargoes; and as it must frequently happen, in such a situation, that the owner of the goods would find it necessary to accompany them to market himself,—he would in all cases wish to find a vessel at the opposite end of the canal exactly of the same burthen that suited his cargo, ready to receive the goods on board, and proceed with them directly to market, that he might thus be saved the expence of warehouse-rent, portage, personal expence, and other charges: But as this could not be expected to be had, it would prove a principal cause of preventing goods from being brought to that canal. And,

In the last place, even if the foregoing circumstances should prove favourable, it would subject the employer to pay a freight consisting of two separate voyages, which he never could obtain at such an easy rate as if the whole could be completed in one voyage.

From

From these considerations I am disposed to conclude, that if a small canal only were formed there, few decked vessels of any size would come to either end of it; but would rather choose to proceed as at present round the Mull of Cantire: for that little other business would be there carried on but that of admitting a few open fishing boats to take to the Clyde to a market, in which traffic only a very few are just now employed; and their number, should the improvement of these countries be carried forward, must rather decrease than otherwise. On this plan, therefore, the undertakers would receive but sparing returns, and the Public be very little benefited by it.

On the other hand, should a canal be made large enough to admit vessels of 80 or 100 tons burthen easily to pass, and should the lockage dues be moderate, almost all vessels going to or from Campbellton, Clyde, Irvine, Ayr, or any other parts within the Mull of Cantire, to the Hebrides, would choose to come that way, as it would, on an average, shorten their voyage between three and four weeks, besides rendering it much more safe and infinitely less trying for crazy vessels. In that case, even at the beginning, the resort of that canal must be great, and with the rising improvement of those countries, it would be daily increasing: For, should the Carron canal be finished, which may be soon expected; and should it also be deepened, which is also in contemplation, the trade between Leith or other eastern parts of the island and the Hebrides, would all be carried on through the same channel: And should the coasting duty be taken off coals, which I cannot doubt will some time take place, a great additional trade would be carried on through this canal. From these considerations, I have not a doubt but that much larger returns in proportion to the expence incurred would be obtained from the large than the small canal.

With regard to the second question: Whether should this canal be executed at the public expence or by private individuals? I would in the first place observe, that I should consider it as an unreasonable demand to ask the public funds for forwarding any work tending to promote the trade and prosperity of a particular district without stipulating a return for that aid, unless where the trade of that particular district could not afford to pay for it without being loaded beyond what it could possibly bear. But the present case does not seem to come within that description, as there cannot be a doubt but that a very moderate tonnage on vessels passing this way, would do much more than afford a reasonable interest for the money that would be required for executing this canal. And at Government, if it were to borrow money for executing that work, would probably mortgage the lockage dues on that canal as a fund for payment of their money. I can see no difference to the Public between this and the mortgaging these very funds to private individuals for the same purpose; on such terms and under such stipulations as would render the undertakers perfectly sensible they could not be losers by it; while on the other hand equal care was taken that these undertakers should never, under any change of circumstances, draw unreasonable emoluments at the public cost; And as it would be easier to carry such stipulations into effect with private individuals than with Government, and as the expence would be much less if it were executed by private individuals than by Government, I cannot help thinking it would be much more eligible to have it made as a private undertaking than as a public job.

One other consideration weighs with me on this occasion in favour of its being executed as a private work, which is this:—There are many other necessary canals that would come to be attended to and gradually opened at future periods in Scotland. Now, should it

once be found by experience that individuals had been gainers by such a work, and that they could not so advantageously secure their money in any other way, it would encourage such works in future so that they would be executed in the same way whenever they were wanted, without any of those cabals and political delays and manœuvring which always takes place when public aid is expected. A spirit of independent reliance on their own powers should ever be cherished among the people; and a case can never occur in which there is less room for servile dependence on public aid than the present.

From these considerations I should wish to see this work undertaken by individuals, not from any public-spirited view, or under the semblance of charitable contributions, but merely as a gainful project, as a profitable way of employing their money. The following conditions, it is imagined, would tend alike to give perfect security to the undertakers, and to guard the Public from being sufferers, under any change of circumstances, whatever.

### CONDITIONS.

1<sup>st</sup>. A plan and estimate of the expence of the canal being made, let a subscription be opened for money to execute it on the following terms.—But as a preliminary, let it be understood that the work would not be begun till at least 50 *per cent.* more money was subscribed for that purpose than the estimate indicated, and that the subscription should not be closed till double the sum apparently wanted was subscribed; that is to say, if the expence of the canal should be estimated at L. 30,000, the work should not be begun till at least L. 45,000 was subscribed, nor should that subscription be closed till it amounted to L. 60,000; this to answer contingencies. So many inconveniences arise to the undertakers when a work of this kind is stopped before completion, that, to guard against it,  
this



this preliminary seems to be extremely necessary. This done, each subscriber to be liable to pay, on a call, so much *per cent.* of the sum subscribed, as it should be wanted.

2d. After the work is finished, the undertakers shall be entitled to levy from each vessel passing the canal, at the rate of *per ton*, under the name of lockage- dues, which shall continue thence forward liable to the regulations after mentioned.

3d. A dividend shall afterwards be annually made of the free profits (after paying all expence of repairs, management, &c.) among the subscribers; and these subscribers shall be entitled to draw the whole of these profits, until they have received at the rate of five *per cent.* interest on the several sums advanced, from the time these different sums were respectively advanced, till the day of that dividend which shall pay up all arrears on this score.

4th. After the undertakers shall thus be paid up all arrears till the day of the last dividend at the rate of interest aforesaid, they shall be allowed to draw from that period, the whole free money arising during the current year, if that shall not exceed the rate of five and a-half *per cent.* on the whole capital employed on that undertaking.

5th. But if the free money shall at any time amount to more than five and a-half *per cent.* of the capital, the subscribers shall not be entitled to draw that overplus, but it shall be set apart as a stock to be employed as shall hereafter be specified.

6th. If, during the succeeding year, it should be found that the profits in like manner exceeded the rate of five and a-half *per cent.* of the capital, that overplus shall be added to the stock set apart in the former year — and so in like manner for the third. But after three consecutive years of increasing profits, the managers shall then lower the lockage-dues to such a rate as would on an average of the three preceding years,

years, have amounted exactly to five and a-half *per cent.* on the capital (if this can be done without inconvenient fractions, or in that case to the nearest practicable rate above that). And in future, if the profits shall continue to increase, the surplus money shall be added from year to year to the stock, till the *third* year, when a new lowering of duty shall take place in the same manner as aforesaid; and so on for ever.

7th. But if, during any one year, the free profits should fall short of five and a-half *per cent.* the subscribers shall in that case be entitled to draw from the reserved stock, if any, as much as shall make their dividend five and a-half *per cent.* and no more: But if there should be no stock accumulated for that purpose, and if the dividend does not fall lower than five *per cent.* they shall content themselves with that dividend, without allowing it to go to account: But if the dividend should chance at any time to be below the rate of five *per cent.* such deficiency should be allowed to go to account, to be drawn out of the first money that arises from the lockage dues after a dividend of five and a-half *per cent.* for the current year shall have been allowed to the partners—and so on for ever.

8th. As to the accumulated capital already so often mentioned, after it amounted to one thousand pounds, it should be lent out to interest; that interest to be annually added to the savings, if any, till these amounted to another thousand pounds, which in its turn should be lent out to interest also; and so on till the whole reserved capital should amount to the sum of L.

After which time, the interest arising from this stock should be applied annually to some public works in the Hebrides, under the direction of  
This is always on the supposition that the subscribers have not occasion to draw the money as aforesaid.

9th. But if after having lowered the duties, as has been mentioned, it should at any time be found that the subscribers have drawn *less* than five *per cent.* dividend for  
three

three consecutive years; in that case, the managers shall be empowered to raise the lockage-dues for three years to such a rate as would have given the subscribers five and a-half *per cent.* and no more during the three last preceding years, and so on in like circumstances in all time to come. Provided always, That this rate of lockage dues never shall exceed that rate which was first granted by Act of Parliament: For, nothing but a new Act of Parliament, granted for that purpose, should empower them to raise higher dues than what was originally due.

*Lastly,* To remove all possibility of doubt with regard to the security of this fund to the subscribers, let Government become bound to make up to any subscriber who should demand it, any deficiencies of the dividend, till it arose to the rate of four *per cent.* interest on the capital advanced by such subscriber from the day it was advanced till the day of the dividend last past: But even in such case, the person receiving such advance from Government, shall have no claim to any profits that might at any future period belong to his share of stock *preceding the time of such advance*: Government in that case coming in the place of the original subscriber previous to that period, and being entitled to receive every emolument the original proprietor would have received from that proportion of stock prior to that date, but no longer. This can be considered merely as a Government insurance, that the subscribers can in no case receive less than four *per cent.* on the capital advanced, for which they pay a premium which is merely contingent.

Thus would the subscribers be *certain* of reaping at the worst four *per cent.* for their money, while they would have a chance equal at least to a hundred to one, that they would draw five and a-half *per cent.* free of all expences for ever. The Public also would be perfectly certain that the lockage-dues must necessarily be lowered as soon as circumstances would admit of it, and thus would be served at the cheapest possible rate.

A P P E N -

## APPENDIX, No. IX.

*Observations on Mr Murdoch M'Kenzie's Charts of the Hebrides and Western Coasts of Scotland.*

IT is unfortunate when a man, in discharging his duty to the Public, has occasion to take notice of the faults or errors of others; yet this in some cases cannot be avoided, unless he resolves rather to allow the Public to be deceived, than to subject himself to the obloquy that a steady impartiality of conduct may be expected to produce. Unluckily I found myself thus circumstanced with regard to Mr M'Kenzie's charts of the Hebrides and Western Coasts of Scotland last year†. On my tour among these islands, I had occasion to observe that these charts were in several respects defective and erroneous; and I thought, that in giving a report to the Public, of the present state of those regions, and the circumstances that affected their prosperity, I should have been highly to blame if I had

\* Many years ago, Mr Murdoch Mackenzie, at his own private expence, made a survey of the Orkney islands and part of Lewis, the charts of which were afterwards published under the title of *Orcaades*; to which was prefixed, a Treatise on Marine Surveying, in which he explains the measures he adopted on that occasion to guard against errors, which, if always duly attended to, were very well calculated to prevent mistakes. This survey bears the character of accuracy; and I had no reason to say any thing to the contrary (unless with regard to the Skerinec-rock, which should have been corrected after he had discovered that it was there wrong laid down) as I was not among the Orkney islands.

He was afterwards employed at the expence of Government, to make a survey of all the Western Coasts of Britain and of Ireland, which have been since published in three different series of charts, one containing the west coast of Scotland, another of the coast of England, and one of the coasts of Ireland. It is only the first charts of the coasts of Scotland and the Hebrides that are referred to in the following observations; and I beg the Reader will keep this in view as he goes along.—With regard to the others, it would be very impertinent in me to say any thing, as I never had an opportunity of seeing or examining any of them; they are, therefore, here quite out of the question.

overlooked



overlooked this circumstance. No sooner, however, was it known that I had said they were not so perfect as could be wished, than I was peremptorily called upon by Mr M'Kenzie, or his friends, either to condescend publickly on some particulars that were erroneous in these charts, or that I should be deemed an unjust calumniator.—Averse as I was to engage in an altercation of this sort in a common news-paper, I found it could not be avoided; and therefore did, upon the 18th December 1784, answer this challenge in the following manner. —

“ Tho’ Dr Anderson did not go with a purpose to survey these coasts for the making of charts, and pretends to have made no discovery of any rocks that were not well known to the people who frequent those seas, yet he is able to condescend upon many places that are so exceedingly erroneously laid down in Mr M'Kenzie’s charts, as to be discoverable by the eye of even a superficial observer of those countries. The following are a few :

“ 1. By Mr Mackenzie’s map, a right line drawn from the point of Ardinrider, forming the north-east side of the Sound of Mull, to the Castle of Dunstaffnage, would pass clear of the south-west point of the island of Lismore, leaving that island to the north of it near one mile ;—whereas, in reality, a line drawn between these two points would cut the island of Lismore between two and three miles to the north of that point.

“ 2. Again—From the bay of Ardmurkinish at the house of Lochnel to Loch-Creran, as laid down by Mr Mackenzie, is a distance of between *five* and *six* miles ; whereas, in reality, it scarcely measures *one* mile.

“ 3. The coast on the south side of Loch-Crinan, by Mr Mackenzie’s chart, bears in a direction so as to fall within (to the eastward of) Duntroon Castle ;—whereas it points to the east entry into Loch-Craignish, between one and two miles westward of Duntroon.

“ 4. In

"4. In the harbour of Crinan also, the island Daviero in Mr Mackenzie's map is nothing like its real shape, and lies in a very different direction, the eastmost side of it pointing nearly N. W. in the chart; whereas it points nearly N. E. towards the Castle of Duntroon. The small rock in that harbour is equally erroneously laid down, as it really lies in a right line between the head land to the east of the island Daviero and the Castle of Duntroon, about one third over, instead of lying close by the west point of that island, as in the map. The draught of the harbour in other places is equally erroneous.

"5. In the harbour of Loch-Boisdale in South Uist, are two sunk rocks near the entry, both of them erroneously laid down by Mr Mackenzie.—And in the survey of the harbour itself, several islands of considerable extent, not under six or eight acres, are not so much as delineated at all.

"6. In the harbour of East Tarbat in Harris, are many inaccuracies; several islands quite out of their places, and of a different form from what they bear: and several sunk rocks also very much out of their true place. It is not possible here to specify these exactly.

"7. From the head of Lochindaal in Skye, Loch-Effort, by Mackenzie's charts, bears W. by S. nearly, distant *five miles and an half*;—whereas it really bears from Lochindaal about N. N. W. distant about *one mile*. Here is a difference of *seven points* in the bearings.

\* A discrepancy was here taken notice of between two of Mr Mackenzie's charts, in a hasty and inaccurate manner: this, on account of a small inaccuracy of language, has been attempted to be denied. The following is a true and accurate state of that fact.

Mr Mackenzie gives two delineations of the coast of Harris, one in plate xxix. and another in plate xxxi. which differ from each other in the following particulars:

In Mr Mackenzie's plate xxxi. East Loch-Tarbat is distant from the West one mile; [I found, by measurement, the real distance was about six hundred yards, so that this is three times its real distance.] And in plate xxix. which comprehends in the same direction six miles (that is nearly eighteen times its real distance) from the point

ing, and an error of more than *four* times the distance. — From the same Lochindaal to Broadford, is by Mackenzie a bearing of N. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  westerly, distant *eight* miles, — though it really bears about N. westerly, distant about *four* miles.

“ But, to put an end to all farther altercation on this subject, he will here make one very plain proposal, which will at once decide the matter in dispute. — As Mr Mackenzie seems to pride himself on the unequalled accuracy of his maps, he can surely have no exception to get that accuracy ascertained by one single trial. Dr Anderson, therefore, hereby makes offer to accompany Mr Mackenzie, or any person he shall appoint, to make an actual survey of the harbour of Loch Boisdale in South Uist; on this condition, that if Mr Mackenzie's chart of that harbour shall prove to be accurate, Dr Anderson shall pay all the expense of the survey, with a reasonable allowance to Mr Mackenzie for his trouble; provided that Mr Mackenzie, on his point of West Loch-Tarbat, East Loch-Tarbat, is not at all included. The bearing in plate xxxi. is N. E. by N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  northerly, — a difference from its real bearing of about five or six points. Miles.

Loch-Croosavagh is distant from West Loch-Tarbat, in plate xxix. 6 4  
Ditto, in plate xxxi. 3 4

The difference of distance between Loch-Croosavagh in the two charts, near six miles.

The bearing from ditto in plate xxix. is N. E.

Ditto, in plate xxxi. E. by S. easterly. Difference about five points.

The bearing of the west coast of Harris, in these two charts, differs about four points.

It is unnecessary to specify here any more particulars, all the other parts being nearly equally erroneous. For my own vindication in this particular, I found it necessary to make out an exact copy of these two charts on one piece of paper, a copy of which is to be transmitted to each of the following places, where those who wish for farther satisfaction on this head may have an opportunity of consulting them, viz. the Customhouses of Leith, Greenock, Liverpool, London, and Edinburgh. The accuracy of the drawing, when compared with the original plates, is attested by Mr. Robertson Professor of Natural Philosophy in Edinburgh, and others.

side, agrees to pay the whole expence, together with a reasonable gratification to Dr Anderson for his trouble, if the printed map of that harbour shall be found to be erroneous.—With these candid remarks, and this fair proposal, Dr Anderson, on his part, here closes this controversy, not intending to say any-thing further on this subject till the survey is made, when he would propose that the accurate survey should be published.

“P. S. Dr Anderson condescends upon Loch Boisdale above, not because he thinks it less accurate than others, but because he thinks it an uncommonly fine harbour, and therefore wishes the Public to be possessed of an accurate plan of it. If Mr Mackenzie is not satisfied with the *one* trial above mentioned, Dr Anderson will, if he chooses it, name several other places which he is ready to get surveyed on the same terms.”

N. B. The same offer was afterwards made with regard to all the other places above specified.

Mr Mackenzie, however, tho' he in general denied the facts above specified, did not choose to have them submitted to the decisive test of experiment, which alone can ascertain the truth in matters of this sort; but contented himself with some vague reasoning upon this subject which it would be futile to repeat, and abundance of abusive language tending to vilify my character, which it would be disgraceful in me to retort. Such warmth is but too natural wherever the shoe pinches; but it seldom requires any sort of answer.

I should be willing to believe, that in the present case, Mr Mackenzie has been induced, from the indiscreet zeal of some injudicious partizan, to lose sight of propriety for a time, and to adopt a mode of conduct that seems to me but ill calculated for the purpose he had in view, which induces me, much against my own inclination, here to resume a subject that I wished not to enlarge upon.—A pamphlet was printed many months ago by Mr Mackenzie, and circulated with great privacy among his friends and those with whom he



he thought it would have influence, in which my character was again attacked with great virulency. This pamphlet was circulated several months before I heard of it; and it was so carefully guarded, that tho' I made every possible enquiry to try if a copy could be obtained, I could not get one, till at last I got a reading of it only a few weeks ago from a gentleman to whom a copy of it had been sent.

In that pamphlet, besides the arguments employed before in the public news paper, and some additional abuse, of which enough has been already said, he endeavours to disprove the facts I had specified, by collecting general attestations from different quarters in favour of his charts:—a mode of proof which I am persuaded no man who had been capable of reasoning coolly, would ever have thought of adopting with respect to *matters of fact*, if he had thought they could bear the test of any other mode of investigation; because, if this kind of evidence were to be admitted, any position that could be assumed might be clearly proved, and truth could never be ascertained.

So sensible are people in Britain of the justness of this remark, that unless it be in the single case of *quack medicines*, I know of no other in which men are in general disposed to submit to the dishonourable imputation of adopting that kind of evidence. It is found to answer *their* purpose perfectly well; as every fact they wish to be established, can thus be proved in the clearest manner. It will not, however, be expected, that I should think of adopting a similar plan on the present occasion.

In matters of a public concern, men ought ever to be allowed to speak freely so long as they adhere to truth: but if, as in the present case, a man who acts with candour and fairness shall find himself liable to receive such abuse as has been poured out against me, few will choose to subject themselves to it; and thus error will remain uncorrected. Possibly it may have been

with

with this view that the mode of conduct here adverted to has been adopted. Be that as it may, I shall close this paper with a few strictures on the nature of that exculpatory evidence, which Mr Mackenzie has not been ashamed to rely on as the sole means of justification on the present occasion.

In the *first* place, a good-natured man, who thinks he is to do an obliging thing, will on many occasions not be very scrupulous to sign a paper presented to him for that purpose when he thinks it will oblige a friend\*, even tho' it contains assertions that he does not know to be strictly just, or when it relates to a subject that he never has had an opportunity of investigating thoroughly himself; so that men, even without intending any harm, are thus often made to assert things positively as facts, that they do not for certain know. In the present case, one of the gentlemen who has given an attestation to Mr Mackenzie, says, without reserve, 'They are the very best (charts) that ever was done;' though I pre-

\* It appears that attestations ready-worded had been sent to the different ports, and entrusted to the care of particular friends, to get as many names subjoined to them as possible. These attestations were (with a proper change of names) as follows: *We, commanders and masters of vessels in Leith, navigating the Orkneys and west coast of Britain, do hereby certify that we have always found Mr Murdoch Mackenzie's charts sufficiently exact for navigating ships amongst the Islands and upon the coasts; and by his improved method in them, the great diversity of high and low lands, cliffs, shoals, &c. are so remarkably distinguished as to make them easily known; so that we can proceed with more confidence, and have found them surer guides than any other charts we have ever seen.*—The reader will please here to take notice, that the attestation is carefully made to include *all* or *any* of Mr Mackenzie's maps, though it was only one particular class of them that had been called in question. It might therefore happen, that man who had sailed by the charts of the *Orkneys*, or of the *Coast of England*, or of *Ireland*, might with a safe conscience sign these attestations, if he found those charts accurate, although he had not perhaps ever seen or had occasion to employ one of the charts in question. Such a disingenuous mode of evading the point in question, by an artful appearance of bringing it under review, is no very clear proof of conscious rectitude. But it is altogether of a piece with every thing Mr Mackenzie has thought proper to urge in his defence.

sume

sume this Gentleman will not pretend to say that he is acquainted with all the other charts that ever were made of any coasts.—This I only take notice of, to show how far zeal frequently outruns judgment in cases of this nature.

In the *next* place I would observe, that it is not every man who sails along a coast with a particular chart in his possession, who is capable of remarking the errors it contains. Many men who have the management of a vessel in such seas as these, are so little accustomed to compare real objects with the representation of them in a chart, that they cannot in any case be able to perceive a discrepancy between them, even when that discrepancy is obvious and striking to another. I had occasion in my tour to converse with a shipmaster who had navigated those seas frequently with Mackenzie's charts on board, who did not know almost in any one case how the places where he had been were laid down in those charts. When I looked at them and compared the design with the objects themselves around, and pointed out the various discrepancies, he could not deny that they were very great; yet no man would be more ready than such a one to give an *unreserved* character of the charts in case it should be asked of him: For, a man who is conscious of ignorance, is always vain of being consulted in cases of this kind, and is therefore eager to come forward as far as he can, thinking it will tend to make him be considered as a person of great consequence.

I cannot help on this occasion taking notice of a case that occurred to myself relating to these very charts when I was on my tour, to show with what caution any one should adopt a character of works of this nature from particular men who may even seem to have had good opportunities of being well informed. In my range among the islands, I fell in with a Gentleman who was eminently distinguished, not only for his good sense, but also for his enterprising spirit and attention.

Among

Among other topics of conversation, Mackenzie's charts happened to be mentioned.—I asked if he had ever seen them? He said he had himself a copy of them, and pointed to one lying on his table.—I asked what opinion he entertained of their accuracy? He said, a very high one, and launched out greatly in their praise.—I then asked, if ever he had taken particular notice how the places on his own estate and the neighbourhood, with which he was well acquainted, were laid down in these charts? He said he had not particularly attended to them.—I then begged he would turn up the maps and look at them, and let me know whether he thought they were justly laid down or not: which he very readily did; but, to his own seeming astonishment, he found them inaccurate in almost every particular, and expressed a degree of surprize and indignation much greater than I now choose to express. I make no doubt but if before that hour Mr Mackenzie had desired him to sign an attestation of the character of his maps drawn up in the strongest terms he could devise, it would have been readily complied with.—It would be well if in cases of this kind, men in general would compare the places they themselves perfectly know, with the charts, as they could then judge of their accuracy in these respects with certainty, and from that trial would be enabled to judge of those places to which they are strangers. Unfortunately for the detection of error, it usually happens that a man bestows greater attention to those parts of a map that he is not acquainted with than to those in his own near neighbourhood.

In the *third* place, it is but very few who sail along a coast by any particular chart, who can have an opportunity of discovering errors even where they exist, and where the observer is capable of distinguishing whatever comes within his own observation. It is only from certain points of view that particular errors can be observed; and in sailing along a coast, a vessel may not chance to be in that particular situation which



could make very important errors observable.—In another respect they are still less capable of judging. If sunk rocks are wrong placed, unless they chance to strike on the rock itself, they may sail past it hundreds of times, and never have the smallest occasion to discover the error in that respect, and consequently will be naturally disposed to believe the chart is right\*. From these causes it may happen that a shipmaster, who

\* One of Mr Mackenzie's attestators says, 'These are to certify, when it doth or may concern, that Robert Steward, master of the Lady's Adventure, nor any of my ship's company, was ever at Liverpool before, and, by the assistance of Mr Mackenzie's Druggist, and nothing else but God's blessing, were clear of every danger.'—Without endeavouring to impeach the accuracy of the chart in question, I would only here observe, that the fact alledged is by no means a proof of the fact for which it is here adduced. It puts me in mind of a fact I had from a Gentleman lately returned from the Levant. He was one day put into a port in the Archipelago in a violent gale of wind. A short while after the vessel was moored, another vessel came into port, and dropped anchor along side of them. The master of this last vessel, who was a Greek, came on board and begged to have a little oil. On enquiring why he was so urgent to have it, he told it was to light a lamp to fulfil a vow he had made during the storm. In that distress, without knowing where he was, or what course to steer, he went and fell down on his knees before a Madonna he had on board; and solemnly delivering up the vessel to her management, he retired to the cabin, and left the Madonna to take care of it, who saved him from every peril, and brought him safely into port. I presume this shipmaster ever afterwards would have as implicit faith in the Madonna, as this Gentleman has in the chart, and, for ought that appears by his affidavit, with equal good reason.

Another instance of a similar nature happened not many years ago. A vessel west of the island of Jura was attacked with a violent storm during a very dark night, and driven about so one knew where. During the night, the ship's company found the vessel stop in her course in a very gentle manner, and remain fixed as if moored in a safe dock. They waited for the light with great anxiety; and when it came, they found themselves in a safe creek in the innermost part of the harbour of Crinan. Thus had he come safe into port. But I question much if he would think it advisable to venture through the whirlpool of Corrywreckan, and among the small islands in that neighbourhood, during a dark stormy night at another time. A man may have the good fortune to sail safely through a most dangerous passage without either chart or compass; but that affords no proof that he would do well to trust to such a mode of navigation in future.

has navigated by an erroneous chart, may in many cases have had no occasion to discover an inaccuracy, particularly with regard to sunk rocks; and therefore may believe the chart to be perfectly right.

On this head I beg leave to remark, that there are only two classes of men who are capable of judging of the accuracy of any charts of these coasts; and unfortunately for the Public these two classes of men are entirely precluded from judging in the present case. These are the men who frequent those seas in herring-busses, and smugglers. With regard to the busses, they must carry so many hands on board that one learns from the other the particulars relating to different lochs: the busses likewise go so frequently from place to place, they are so often obliged to lie idle along-side of several others, and have so much time to converse with the natives of the place, and have so much interest in making themselves acquainted with the particulars of the different harbours, that it forms a great part of their conversation and mutual enquiries. In consequence of that, there is scarcely a sunk rock on the coast, or a single particular that can affect the navigation of those seas, that some one or other of these busmen are not acquainted with. They therefore generally sail without any chart, and often go through dangerous *sounds* in safety, that few men would venture through with the best charts that could be drawn; and not one among a hundred of them ever saw Mr M'Kenzie's charts, and consequently have had no opportunity of discovering or correcting their errors. Indeed these charts are too expensive for them, and too bulky to admit of being used in their small vessels\*. Besides, the greatest part of these men are so little acquainted with charts, as to be altogether incapable of judging of them when they look at them. Hence it happens, that

O o 2

the

\* From this consideration it is evident, that a much smaller and less expensive set of charts of these coasts ought to have been published for the benefit of such vessels as chiefly frequent those seas.

the Public have not been obliged to this class of men for their corrections of these charts, though, from my own experience, I know they are capable of pointing out errors in numberless particulars.

With regard to smugglers, they go farther. These men in general acquire a knowledge of the coasts in pretty much the same way with the buss-owners; but being better able to pay the country people on the coast for their assistance, they have the full benefit of all the local knowledge these possess, on every occasion that they have for it. These men, however, finding it is their interest that no one should know the coast so fully as themselves, especially revenue-cruisers, take all possible pains to conceal from such men any errors in a chart they may chance to discover, and would voluntarily praise the worst they knew as the best, if they thought there was a chance that they would be believed. No corrections, therefore, can be expected from such men. Yet these men at the present moment owe a great part of their success to their knowledge of safe creeks and small harbours which are not so much as marked in Mackenzie's charts, and to their knowledge of difficult passes where no revenue-vessel dares venture to follow them.

From these causes it happens, that those men only are acquainted with Mackenzie's charts who are so little acquainted with the coast as to be incapable of judging of their correctness; and those who could judge of their correctness are unacquainted with the maps.—Hence we are able to explain a peculiarity that at first sight seems a little inexplicable in the pamphlet that gave rise to these observations. It is, that Mr Mackenzie, when in search of attestations of the goodness of his maps at Leith, Liverpool, Port-Glasgow, &c. has met with the greatest success from the most distant places. At Liverpool, he has obtained twenty-three names subscribed to his attestation; at Leith, twenty: But from the Clyde (where he used much

much diligence to obtain subscriptions, and where I suppose there are not, including the present navigators and superannuated masters and pilots, fewer than three or four hundred) he has only been able to obtain six names to his paper, and not a single one from Stornoway or any other place in the Hebrides. I here put the most favourable construction that can be put on the backwardness of the people who may be naturally supposed to be best acquainted with those seas, to attest the accuracy of these maps; as I am far from wishing to take any sort of advantage of a man who I am sorry to think should have been reduced to the disagreeable necessity of having recourse to such an expedient to support his reputation.

I say nothing of the danger that mankind run of being misled in every case where they are to rely on attestations given by persons *unknown*, as this must occur to every one. Surely no man, therefore, would have recourse to this mode of establishing a character, while any other less exceptionable mode was in his power; because he must know, that those who are disposed to judge unfavourably, might very naturally entertain a suspicion that names of persons were there produced who perhaps never existed, or who, if they do exist, are perhaps of such a character as might be brought to subscribe any thing that is required of them. It is well known, that the only class of men who in general depend upon this mode of establishing their character (*Quack Doctors*) make no scruple of practising arts of this kind, and therefore find no difficulty of thus establishing the truth of any point they drive at, were it even a direct impossibility.—Since then attestations of this nature are liable to so many objections as that no man who has more regard to character than a *Quack Doctor* would have recourse to them, I cannot conceive that any thing but very great inattention to the case, or unavoidable necessity, could have driven Mr Mackenzie to adopt this mode of exculpation.

To



To conclude, my engagements to the Public required me to say that I had found Mr Mackenzie's charts of that part of the coast I had occasion to examine inaccurate. I have condescended on examples of these inaccuracies, not one of which has been in the smallest measure denied by any one person who has been called on to give evidence in this case; and have farther offered to submit the proof of these facts to the test of fair experiment. While that is declined, I conceive that no other answer from me is necessary to any argument he may think proper to adduce. — I am conscious here of being in no error; and therefore have no sort of temptation to engage in scurrility or personal abuse.

#### APPENDIX, No. X.

##### *Hints for the Civil Police of a Town, &c.*

**W**HERE many men are assembled in one place, disorderly persons will be found who will disturb the sober and industrious part of the community, unless measures shall be adopted to prevent it. In projecting any establishment of this nature, it becomes therefore a matter of great importance to devise such a system of regulation as may tend in the most natural and easy manner to curb the licentious, and to protect the innoxious and industrious part of the community.

And as it is in general more easy to prevent disorders at the beginning, than to eradicate them after they have obtained a firm footing, in every new undertaking, those regulations which tend to preserve good order and sobriety, and to encourage patient and persevering habits of industry among the people, should be much more attended to than penal statutes intended to punish delinquents after the crime has been committed. When the heart is once corrupted, and when disorderly passions have been allowed to take their full

swing,

swing, the fear of future evils, which may possibly be evaded, is but too seldom sufficient to restrain men from indulging their present unruly appetites. Severe penal statutes thus tend rather to diminish the numbers of the people, than to repress licentiousness.

'It is the certainty, not the severity of punishment, that most effectually prevents crimes.' And as punishments never can be certain but where measures are adopted for quickly discovering the perpetrator of every crime, the first study of one who aims at the most perfect system of internal police, should be to adopt such arrangements as are best calculated to lead directly to a discovery of the person who shall have been guilty of any enormity. These were the principles which influenced the measures that will be explained in the course of this short Essay.

To establish a due subordination, the inhabitants of this place should be divided into the five following classes, that is to say, The possessors of houses in the different streets shall obtain a perpetual property on the following conditions, viz.

Classes of houses and order of Citizens.	Inhabiting streets of the undermentioned width, viz.	Annual quit-rent for each house.		Minimum value of a house to be built in two years at farthest.
		L.	s.	
5	20	0	1	2
4	40	0	5	50
3	60	0	10	100
2	80	1	0	200
1	90	2	0	400

The above-mentioned quit-rents are to be paid by all persons who inhabit their own houses; but if the proprietor shall move from them, and they shall come to be occupied by a tenant, the rate of quit-rent in every case shall be double the sum it is here rated at.

In the above classes of citizens, those of the fifth or lowest class shall be incapable of being appointed to any office,

office, unless it be watchmen. Those in the other classes, to be capable of bearing the offices of trust that shall be afterwards mentioned.

Besides the quit-rents above named, each person shall pay to the public fund, for the purpose of paving and lighting the streets, bringing water, erecting public buildings, paying ministers stipends and other public uses, at the following rates, viz. For every house which shall be valued above Two pounds, and not exceeding Fifty,

	$\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum	of its value
From 50l. and not exceeding 100l.	$\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	
From 100l. and not exceeding 200l.	$\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	
From 200l. and not exceeding 400l.	$\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	
From 400l. and not exceeding 600l.	$\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	
From 600l. to 800l.	$\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	
From 800l. to 1000l.	$\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	

And all exceeding 1000l. to pay 1 per cent. per annum.

And should it be found necessary on any extraordinary emergency to levy more public duties, the above shall serve as a rule for every other assessment.

But as it may happen that persons who were once in indigent circumstances, and in the lowest orders in the community, but afterwards grow better, and become ambitious of entering into higher classes, it shall be lawful for any one so to do without changing his place of abode, only in this case, the person so rising into a superior class, must pay in to the Treasury of the town, on getting his name inrolled in the new class, one-half the difference of value between the lowest house in that class he occupies, and the lowest house of that class into which he enters. Thus, supposing the lowest value of a house in the 5th class to be L. 2, and that in the 4th class L. 50, difference L. 48, the half of which is L. 24. In the same manner, the difference between the 4th and 3d classes would be L. 25, from the 3d to the 2d would be L. 50, and between the 2d and 1st L. 100.

In

In that case, also, from the time of his entering into the higher class, the house he occupies shall pay the same rate of quit-rent from that time ever afterwards, as if he had been ranked originally in that class. That is to say, if he occupies the second class, the quit-rent must be five shillings, and so on of the other.

Any person may likewise be admitted into a higher class, by purchasing a lot from those who formerly occupied it, and possessing it himself. But in all cases a person must have been inrolled in that class at least one year before he can be eligible into any office peculiarly appropriated to those of that class.

As very much depends on the inferior magistrates in an infant society, it is necessary to enlarge more particularly on these, than such men as have been long accustomed to a state of society more advanced would think necessary.

#### *Hundreds, &c.*

King Alfred, of all the Legislators I am acquainted with, seems to have best understood the wants of an infant society, and to have adopted the most proper measures for supplying these wants. According to his plan, the New Town should as soon as possible be divided into hundreds; that is to say, each contiguous hundred houses should be erected into an inferior district, over whom should be appointed an inferior magistrate, to be chosen from among the inhabitants of the hundred itself, by a majority of votes of the heads of families in it; respect being had in this choice, to those who have been remarked for moderation, sobriety, industry, a strict regard to decorum of conduct, and adherence to the principles of morality. The magistrate so chosen to be presented to the Parson of the parish, to be by him ordained an *Elder* of the church, if no valid objection should be urged against him. These elders to be chosen from among the second or third class of citizens, and none higher, and to be all persons who actually



tually reside in the several hundreds they respectively are chosen for. Ten of these hundreds (or more or fewer according to the extent of the places) to be erected into a ward; each ward to constitute a parish. Each parish to be governed, in as far as concerns religious affairs, by a parson and these elders, as is at present universally practised in the Church of Scotland.

The elders, together with the parson, should have the sole executive management of the poor's funds; as experience has clearly proved, that no other method can be devised that can be better calculated both for discovering the wants of real objects of charity, and for detecting the impositions of others: For, as each elder, by living among the people, can know the wants and situation of every individual within his own hundred, he could therefore judge with propriety where any supplies were wanted, and know the extent of supply that the case demanded. They should also be vested with a kind of censoreal authority, being required to have an eye upon the regularity of conduct of the several families among the poorer class of people within their respective districts, to the employment they followed, and the means of subsisting their families. In consequence of this knowledge, they would be enabled, in cases of any enormity being committed within their district, to assist the civil magistrate in discovering those who were most likely to have committed the action. The good effects that result from such an institution, can only be known by those who have had an opportunity of living in some of the country parishes in Scotland.

But, as too much care can never be taken to guard against abuses in the management of public funds, the elders, in all their intromissions with the poor's money, should be accountable to the community at large. For this purpose, all their transactions should be regularly minuted in a book, which should be open to the inspection of any householder in the parish when he chose to call for it (upon paying a small fee to the

parish.

parish-clerk) : But as experience shews that when no particular member of the community is specially called upon to perform a certain duty, it is in time entirely neglected ; to guard against this evil, a meeting of the inhabitants should be appointed to be held on a certain day each year, for the express purpose of choosing from among themselves three sober discreet persons to act as auditors of the poor's accounts, who should examine these accounts with care, being empowered to call for such vouchers as they may deem necessary, and after due attention had, either to pass the accounts, or refuse to do so as they saw cause. Their power to expire after a certain limited day, when another meeting shall be held to receive their report, where they shall explain the reasons of their conduct, that the parish may in that case judge what is proper to be done with regard to that business.

And that these auditors may not perform their business slightly, let it be farther provided, That if any individual shall discover that they have been guilty of culpable neglect, he may sue them before the Court of Aldermen, (to be afterwards explained) where, if they be convicted of culpable negligence, they may be fined to that amount the jury shall think proper to award. The right of prosecution in this case to prescribe in three months from the day of their having passed these accounts.

Many persons will judge these regulations trivial ; but those who have observed the abuses which have gradually crept into the management of the poor's funds in England, the difficulty of now correcting these abuses, and the mischievous consequences that flow from them, will allow that it is a matter of no small importance to attempt to guard against such evils.

An elder, when once ordained, may be continued for life ; but as his influence in society would be much diminished should he ever become unpopular in the discharge of his office, it should be appointed, that at the meeting

meeting when the auditors accounts are passed annually, a new nomination of the elders should take place, when the former elders should be continued, unless it should appear that three-fourths of the heads of families present shall object to it: in which case, he shall be discontinued, and another elected in his stead.

At all these meetings relating to parish-business, the Parson shall act as Preses if present; and, in his absence, the Warden, (to be afterwards mentioned); or in the absence of both, any other respectable person the meeting shall choose: and on every question, when the Preses declares his opinion of the way in which the question is carried, it shall be as he says, if no person present requires a ballot: but if any individual calls for it, the point shall be immediately ascertained by ballot in the manner that shall be afterwards described.

Thus much for church government and the management of the poor's funds. We now proceed to consider other matters of police,

### *Regulations for Public Houses, &c.*

As disorders in society usually originate in riotous living, idleness, intemperance, and debauchery, every method that can be devised for repressing these in a beginning society should be adopted. Luckily, from the circumstances in which men usually find themselves placed when a new city is founded, it may be then much more easily effected than it could be after riches had introduced extravagance and dissipation.

The first step towards the repressing these disorders, is to guard against the abuse of houses of public entertainment. With that view, a municipal law ought to be made, that no person should be authorised to take up a house of public entertainment without having first obtained a licence from the Lord Mayor and Council for that purpose, with the concurrence of the inhabitants of the ward in which it was to be established. Nor should it be lawful for the Lord Mayor

to grant that licence but in consequence of a petition presented for that purpose, and backed with a letter from at least six respectable citizens offering to become bound to the extent of one hundred pounds Sterling for the good behaviour of the person so claiming. It should also be required, that before this licence could be granted, the petition should be pasted up in the most public places of the town, or otherwise publicly advertised, for at least six weeks before the prayer of it could be complied with, that all concerned might know of it, and make objections if they saw fit. These forms being duly complied with, and no reasonable objections being made, the licence should be granted: but always under this express condition, that if at any future period it should appear that at a public meeting of the ward called for that purpose, two-thirds of the masters of families should vote for that licence being withdrawn, the Lord Mayor, on this vote being duly intimated to him, should be obliged to revoke the licence and give the publican warning to give up that business, or remove from thence at the next customary term of removal that should happen, at least three months after such intimation had been given him. Magistrates may sometimes favour disorderly persons from particular motives: it is therefore fit that the body of the people should have it in their power, when they found it necessary, to remove a nuisance from among themselves whenever they found it become intolerable.

With a view also to increase the revenue of the town without giving occasion to smuggling, and in some measure to encourage people to live regularly at home, instead of granting a power to the magistrates to levy an impost upon liquors when brought into town, as is sometimes practised; they should be authorized to exact from every person who kept a house of public entertainment, the sum of *per annum*, from all those who exercised the business of a vintner, that is, for



for those who sold wine, and half that sum from those who only sold other liquors. They should likewise be all bound to adhere to the other regulations of police that should be made respecting those who exercised this business.

Among those regulations, besides keeping an orderly house, and discountenancing riotous persons in intemperate drinking, (with which view care should be taken at the beginning to introduce the practice universally, to charge all articles of food, fuel, lights, lodging, and in short every article of expence separately, as well as drink), every inn-keeper should be required to keep a regular journal of the arrival and departure of all strangers at his inn, under the penalty of forfeiting twenty shillings for every omission that should be discovered in this respect. In this journal should be specified the name, apparent sex, age, and other observable particulars of the stranger. This journal should be delivered at the end of each year into the Warden's office, there to be preserved from destruction. He should likewise be bound under the like penalty, to send notice in writing to the Warden's office, of the arrival of such strangers, within three hours at farthest, if such arrival was between six o'clock in the morning and six in the evening; or before ten o'clock in the morning after, if the arrival was between six o'clock at night and six in the morning, together with the name, &c. of the stranger: and the same with regard to their departure. This to be entered into a register to be kept by the Warden for that purpose, under the title of **THE REGISTER of STRANGERS.**

No householder should be allowed to let lodgings for hire without first giving intimation to the Warden (whose office will be more fully explained below) their intention so to do, who, upon such requisition made, accompanied with a letter of recommendation and cautionry from at least *one* respectable house-holder, shall be obliged to send a particular licensing ticket, to  
be

be placed above the door of the house. And all householders acting in this capacity should become bound, under certain penalties, within the same space after entering any new lodger as specified for the innkeepers, to send notice in writing to the Warden's office, of such entry, specifying the name, &c. of the lodger; and the same intimation to be given on their leaving it, even were it but for one night. These particulars to be entered into a separate journal appropriated for this use, under the title of REGISTER OF LODGERS.

Persons exercising the office of pawnbrokers, should either be totally forbid, or put under very particular regulations; as those who follow that business too often prove the means of encouraging a spirit of extravagance and dissipation at least, if not of theft. All dealers in second-hand goods should also be put under strict regulations, as encouragers of pilfering by servants in small articles. Perhaps the best way of regulating all these employments, would be to require that each person exercising any of them, should first obtain a licence for that purpose from the Lord Mayor, in the manner prescribed for innkeepers, &c. But in particular, that this licence should be revokable at any time that a majority of householders in a wardmote should vote for such revocation: For, it often happens that persons in the neighbourhood may have good reason to know of irregularities and improprieties of conduct in matters of this sort, when no legal proof could be brought of any acts of direct theft. And when persons of that character knew that they were liable to this kind of punishment, in consequence of acting so as to give room for suspicions being entertained of them, they would naturally be much more on their guard against deviating from the right path, than they might have been had they been less liable to feel the effects of any impropriety of conduct. In the licences should be expressly specified each individual article in which the

the person obtaining it was permitted to deal. Too many precautions cannot be taken to guard against the evils originating from this class of people.

No surgeon or physician should be allowed to practise there without having previously obtained a licence from the Lord Mayor, after undergoing the same forms as for an innkeeper. To render access to quacks and irregular practitioners in physic a matter of some difficulty, is of much importance to the community.

Every surgeon, on getting such licence, should become bound, under a severe penalty, to enter into a Register, the name, &c. of each person he had occasion to dress, having received any wound or contusion, specifying shortly the nature of the wound, and manner in which it was said to be received. This register to be delivered once a-year into the Court of Wards, there to be locked up and sealed by the Lord Mayor's seal, without being examined or afterwards looked into, unless by public order of the Lord Mayor and Council, when it might be judged necessary to consult these Registers with a view to lead to the discovery of some secret murder or other atrocious deed. Surgeons should be likewise farther bound to come before the Lord Mayor at any time that particular emergencies might make it necessary for the Lord Mayor in Council to issue a public order for that purpose, and bring these journals with them up to the present day, that they might be then, if necessary, examined for the purpose above specified.

#### *Watchmen or Constables.*

As thefts, robberies, and domestic disturbances always take their rise from persons being permitted to stroll abroad too freely during the night-time, the plan of the town should be particularly calculated to guard against this evil. With that view, all those streets peculiarly appropriated to the residence of the lower

lower classes of the people, should be so contrived as to be shut up each night with doors; these to be closed precisely at ten o'clock, and not to be opened before five in the morning in winter, or when it becomes light at an earlier hour at other seasons, unless under the precautions and exceptions that shall be hereafter mentioned, or in case of fire or any other extraordinary incident. With the same intent also, the town should be so contrived that no access can be had from one ward to another between the hours of ten and five, &c. as aforesaid, but by passing through a gate which must be expressly opened for the purpose, with the following precautions:—

At each of these bars (for so I choose to distinguish those gates that separate one ward from another) shall be placed two watchmen, who shall be entitled to require from each person who passes between the hours aforesaid, one penny. They shall farther be required, under the penalty of forfeiting their office, to enter in a Journal the name, &c. of every person who passes, if a residenter in the city. If a stranger, not only the name, but such other obvious peculiarities of appearance as strike them at the time, and the hour when they passed. This list to be given in to the Warden's office every morning, to be there entered into a particular book called the REGISTER OF STROLLERS.—It is obvious that such registers would effectually tend to the discovery of any person who had been guilty of any crime in one place, and wished to make an escape. It would also prove a check to irregular strolling about, and nocturnal visiting, especially among the lower classes of the people; and would give the magistrates an idea of those whose conduct was irregular, and enable them to know such as had occasion to be particularly looked after. The small gates to be opened with the same precautions, and the same gratuity demanded, unless in cases of necessity, such as going for a physician or midwife, or particular business that did not admit of

P p

delay.



delay. In these cases, for the reasons given, which should be entered in the Journal, they ought to be allowed to pass free, and the same at the bars.

These would appear grievous restraints to the members of a society far advanced in refinement. For such they are not intended.—But it may be observed, that to people in a genteel line, this would be but a small restraint if the town was properly laid out, as they would be allowed to pass freely through every part of the same ward at all hours; and these wards might be so contrived, particularly in the middle ward intended as the chief residence of people in the highest station, that they might go several miles without meeting the smallest interruption. This, therefore, would not prove so very troublesome as it appears to be at first sight.

Besides the watchmen at the bars and gates, two other watchmen in company should go the rounds of each ward at twelve o'clock at night; and wherever they found a house with the persons not yet in bed, mark it in their Journal, especially if they were riotous, particularly in public houses. They should go their rounds once more at two, and again at four o'clock in the morning, marking every appearance of irregularity. This list or journal also to be transmitted in the morning to the Warden's office, to be entered in a particular book under the title of REGISTER OF DIS-ORDERLY FAMILIES.

As very much would depend upon the integrity and discretion of the watchmen, care should be taken to have that office filled by men of manly dispositions and respectable manners, though in a low station. To obtain room for choice in this respect, the emoluments of the office should be considerable. Each watchman should have a neat comfortable dwelling-house assigned to him by the Public, free of rent; and should besides have such a salary as with the dues of office would make it coveted by many. His office should be during pleasure; but he should not be amovable but by a public

public vote of a majority of householders in the ward in which he served. In case of a vacancy in that office, each candidate should produce a recommendation signed by at least twelve respectable householders, attesting that in their opinion he would properly discharge the duties of the office, and coming bound for his good behaviour to the extent of fifty pounds. He should be admitted by a majority of votes at a public meeting of the ward specially called for that purpose.

In consequence of these regulations, the Warden would at all times have it in his power to form a tolerable judgment of the general conduct of every person in his own ward, and to know with much probability who were the persons who committed any disorders therein.

It would perhaps be an improvement on this system of police, to adopt one other of Alfred's institutions, but this I beg leave only to suggest as doubtful, viz. to oblige the Ward to make up all losses sustained by robbery or theft within the ward. The person complaining of such theft or robbery, to bring proof of their loss to the satisfaction of a jury, who shall in all cases ascertain the value of the articles abstracted. This jury to consist of neighbours, but not inhabitants of the ward affected. The payment of these losses to be raised by an assessment on the ward, which shall be apportioned according to the *per* centage on houses as above explained. In this case, each watchman should be assessed as high as the highest class of the citizens, and the Warden at twice that rate in case the thief or robber was not discovered and apprehended; but if the thief or robber was apprehended by their diligent exertions, the watchmen and warden should each receive as a gratuity from the Ward, a sum equal to double that they would have been obliged to pay respectively if the thief had escaped. By this regulation it would become the immediate interest of every individual to look sharply after irregular persons, particularly

P p 2

larly that of the watchmen and wardens, who, by virtue of their office, would be possessed of the means that would in many cases lead to a discovery if attention and care should be bestowed.

A mode likewise might be devised for making the inhabitants of each ward the insurers of each other's property from losses by fire. But this I only hint at in this place as a probable means of diminishing the evils that attend losses by fire in cases where each individual is left at liberty to insure or not as he thinks fit. It deserves to be attended to.

#### *Wardens.*

From what has been said it will appear, that the office of Warden is, on this system, an office of very great importance to the well-being of the community; and therefore great care should be taken that it should at all times be held by a person properly qualified for exercising that important charge. On every vacancy, therefore, the Court of Aldermen (to be afterwards mentioned) should be required to present three respectable persons at least as properly qualified for discharging the duties of that office, who should all be chosen from among the three highest classes of citizens in the ward where the vacancy happened, none of them to be under twenty-five years of age. These candidates to be successively voted for at a public wardmote, and that candidate declared to be duly elected who shall obtain the greatest number of votes.

But as it might possibly happen that a person might be appointed to that office who afterwards became disagreeable to the greatest part of the people, it should be in the power of these people to exclude that person, or to expel him from that office at any time they should see cause. For this purpose, let it be provided that a wardmote should be held regularly once a-year on a stated day, for the express purpose of confirming or rejecting the Warden. In that case, a vote should first

be put, CONFIRM, which should be done by a holding up of hands by as many as approve of it; and after a proper interval, another vote should be proposed, REJECT, which should in like manner be denoted by holding up of hands by as many as approve of it. The Chairman shall then declare what he takes to be the state of the vote; and if none object to his decision, it shall be considered as final. But if any person objects to it, he shall immediately give order for it to be ascertained by ballot. The manner of conducting the ballot to be in this and in every other case as afterwards specified.

The Warden should be *ex officio* a Justice of the Peace, and should take cognizance of all breaches of the Peace, or trespasses against the rules of police that happened within the bounds of his ward. For this purpose a Court should be held every morning at a stated hour, Sundays excepted, by himself or deputy, within the ward, to hear and summarily to decide on all causes cognisable by that court. From this decision a right of appeal shall lie to the General Court of Wards, which is a Court that should be held twice a-week, where all the Wardens of the city should sit themselves as Judges, and, by a plurality of votes, summarily decide on the different causes that thus come before them. From the sentence of this Court also should lie a right of appeal to the Court of Aldermen, to be afterwards specially mentioned.

In the General Court of Wards shall be lodged at the end of each year, all the different registers formerly mentioned, the register of the whole wards in the town of the same class being bound up together, and a general index then made out for the whole, to assist in making a search at any future period for any particular purpose that may be wanted.

#### *Dean of Guild.*

This Magistrate to have the superintendence of all matters relating to the preservation of the public property



perty from encroachments, buildings, weights, measures, markets, provisions, &c. to be chosen for life (with a power of removal by ballot if judged expedient) from one of the three highest orders of the citizens. — Other inferior magistrates may be

*Trades Counsellor.*

This Magistrate should be chosen once a year (with a power of continuation or rejection as in the case of the warden) by the tradesmen of the town, from among themselves, being one who ranks in one of other of the four highest orders of citizens. His business is to judge in all cases between tradesmen and others relating to their business. In this Court shall be registered all indentures between tradesmen and their apprentices.

*Merchant Counsellor.*

To be chosen by merchants from among themselves as above, with a power of continuation or rejection as the others. He shall take cognisance of all disputes belonging to mercantile affairs.

*Superintendent of Fisheries.*

To be chosen from among those concerned in the fisheries, with power of continuation, &c. as the others. He shall take cognisance of all disputes relating to that business, and maritime affairs.

Each of these magistrates shall hold Courts twice a week for hearing causes that come under their respective jurisdictions, and shall in all cases decide summarily on the *viva voce* evidence produced by the parties, without the necessary intervention of lawyers of any kind. From their sentence, in all cases, shall lie a right of appeal to the Court of Aldermen, where the cause may undergo a more solemn review, and be determined by the sentence of a jury. But in all cases of appeal from inferior courts of the Court of Aldermen,

it shall be admitted as a rule of Court, that the appellant shall pay the whole costs of suit incurred by both parties in consequence of the appeal, unless the jury shall think proper specially to decree otherwise.

### *Aldermen.*

In each ward shall be chosen one person under the title of Alderman. This person to be chosen by a majority of votes at a wardmote to be called for that purpose on every vacancy. The candidate for this office must reside within the ward, must be at least forty year of age, and be chosen from one or other of the two highest classes of citizens, and ought to be respectable for regularity of manners and decency of conduct. When chosen, he shall be continued for life, unless he be rejected by a vote at a wardmote specially called for that purpose, at which three-fourths of the votes are against him; nor shall such wardmote be summoned unless it be required by a letter to the Conveener of the ward, signed by at least fifty householders specifying the business for which it is called.

The Aldermen shall hold a Court of Appeal once a week, to which causes may be brought from the inferior courts before specified, where they shall undergo a solemn discussion, and a sentence be awarded in all cases by the majority of votes in a jury of twelve men (the foreman in case of equality having a double voice). The Court may in all cases where they see cause, admit of a new trial by granting a writ of error; but where this is refused, the award of the jury shall be final in every case where the matter litigated does not exceed one hundred pounds. In matters of greater value, a right of appeal may lie to the House of Peers.

In matters of small value it is of great importance that justice should be speedily obtained at as little expence as possible: with that view the inferior courts before mentioned have been thought of. But as it is possible

possible that abuses might in some cases be introduced by summary decisions, were it a matter of great difficulty to correct these errors, it was judged expedient to institute the Superior Court now treated of; and under the restrictions already mentioned, it is imagined that justice would be there administered with as much ease, expedition, and impartiality, as by any system that has hitherto been devised. The only objection to the trial by jury, which is the expence, might thus be avoided in all but important cases; and the chief inconvenience it occasions, the trouble to jurors, would be in a great measure obviated, as trials of this kind would be much less frequent than would otherwise happen.

Besides their office as Judges, the Aldermen should be *ex officio* members of the Lord Mayor's council, and as such assist at all deliberations in which the interest of the Public is concerned.

#### *Lord Mayor.*

This magistrate to be chosen by a majority of votes at a common-hall, or by ballot if the shew of hands be disputed. This election to be annual; nor shall it be lawful to continue the same person more than two years running. The only persons entitled to exercise this office, are those who are or have been of the Council, or if not of the Council, are of the highest order of the citizens only.

The Lord Mayor shall in all cases preside in Council, and shall issue all orders relating to public improvements and the expenditure of the ordinary revenues of the Town which are authorised by the Council. But in case any public work of evident utility should be approved of by the Lord Mayor and Council, which exceeds the ordinary revenues of the Town, no new imposition shall be laid on the Public, but with the following formalities. That is to say, unless it is approved of by at least two-thirds of the Council, the proposition

proposition shall there stop entirely. But if it first pass in the Council by so great a majority, the proposal, with the reasons for adopting it, shall then be printed and published, that all concerned may have an opportunity of considering the case with attention. At the end of three months from the day of this publication, a Common-hall shall be summoned for the purpose of taking the opinion of the heads of families, at which the matter shall be proposed; and if upon a shew of hands it appears doubtful, it shall be determined by ballot in the usual way. If it appears by the ballot that a majority of the people approve of it, it shall be adopted, or if otherwise, rejected; nor shall it after being thus rejected be carried into effect, unless by an Act of the British Legislature, which may be applied for if it shall be judged necessary. In all cases the assessment to be made according to the rule already specified.—It is a misfortune in many cases that nothing less than an Act of the British Legislature can compel a few refractory members of the community to agree to measures of evident public utility; by which means many improvements which do not admit of the expence of procuring an Act of Parliament are entirely stopped. The measure here proposed would remove this evil without being attended with any inconveniency. The members of the Council being in general men of considerable property, who would be deeply affected by any assessment, they would in the first place guard against any improper measure being carried there; and unless the proposal was obviously beneficial, a majority of the ordinary inhabitants never could be brought to adopt it.

Many rules might be adopted for constituting the Council, to which few objections could be made. The following might in this case perhaps be attended with few inconveniencies.—

LORD



LORD MAYOR, President.

Ordinary Members of the Council.

- Old Lord Mayor
- Aldermen: chosen for life, but removable by ballot
- Wardens: removable when thought expedient by the people, but also retainable for life
- Dean of Guild: ditto
- Trades Counsellor: ditto
- Merchant Counsellor: ditto
- Superintendent of Fisheries: ditto
- Conveners of the several wards: to be chosen annually
- Conveener of Trades: ditto
- Conveener of the Company of Fishers: ditto
- City Treasurer: to be chosen annually, though continuable for life if thought expedient
- Engineers, or Master of public works: ditto
- Recorder, or City Lawyer: ditto
- City Clerk, to act as clerk of Council also: chosen for life, but removable by ballot if thought necessary.

Our bounds here do not admit of taking into consideration the revenues of the Town. By the plan proposed, they would be considerable; and as in that case there is always room to fear that the public money may be improperly expended, it is of much importance that this should be guarded against with care. It should be a rule that the whole of the revenue nearly should be expended upon public works of one kind or other within each year, unless where it shall be otherwise specially appropriated by a bye-law enacted for a particular purpose specified, passed in the form above described; for nothing is of more hurtful tendency than a spirit of hoarding in a community, as the money thus accumulated, instead of benefiting the community for whose use alone it is obtained, serves only to debauch the minds of future magistrates. At the end of each year,

year, at a public common-hall appointed for that purpose, three men shall be nominated by a majority of votes by ballot, to act as auditors of the public accounts, with a salary of \_\_\_\_\_ for that business. These auditors shall carefully examine every article of the accounts, and be authorised to call for such vouchers and other evidence as they may judge proper, and shall digest the whole into a regular form, which shall be printed and published each year, and sold at a moderate price, that every individual may have an opportunity of considering deliberately and comparing with former accounts particulars that so nearly interest the whole; and if from the report of the auditors any malversation shall appear, the person who has been guilty of it shall be called on to make his defence, which he shall be permitted to do before a Common-hall by counsel or otherwise; and after hearing parties, the decision shall be made by a vote by ballot of the community at large, which may be of three kinds; either a reprimand, or dismissal from office, or a fine according to their idea of the nature of the offence. A simple majority shall acquit.

#### *Order of Ballotting.*

In this, and in all other cases where a ballot is required, the following order shall be strictly observed: After the Preses of the meeting has declared his sense of the majority by a shew of hands, if a ballot be called for, it shall be immediately ordered, and thus conducted.

Each ward shall be inrolled according to seniority of settlement; and every ward, it has been already said, is divided into hundreds. Each *hundred* to be classed in the ward-rolls in a regular progression, which shall never afterwards be altered, according to seniority of settlement, being numbered as Hundred N<sup>o</sup> 1. N<sup>o</sup> 2. N<sup>o</sup> 3. N<sup>o</sup> 4. and so on. The individual householders in each hundred also shall have their names regularly inrolled according to the original seniority of their occupancy.

occupancy. To avoid all manner of confusion, therefore, on every case where a ballot is required, the names in the roll shall be regularly called over, beginning, at a common-hall, (where all the wards are concerned), with the first ward in the roll, and proceeding regularly through all the others according to the order of their implment. In each ward, also, the hundred first upon the roll shall be first called, and they shall proceed forward in a regular order. By this means each individual can know with tolerable ease, at what time his name will be called for; so that he may have an opportunity of giving his vote without losing much time.

Things being thus arranged, each person, when his name is called over, must, if he means to give a vote, answer to his name, and come forward to a person appointed for distributing the balloting balls, who shall give to each person as he comes forward, one ball for that purpose properly contrived to guard against counterfeits. The person receiving that ball shall proceed immediately forward into a small apartment appropriated to that use, in which, for ordinary occasions, shall be placed two boxes in a conspicuous place, one painted white, and inscribed APPROVE; the other painted black, and inscribed REJECT; into one or the other of which, as he inclines, he shall drop his ball without being seen by any one, and proceed directly forward, and go out of the apartment at a door right opposite to that at which he entered: the doors being so contrived as to open and close both together; so that when he opens the one door to go out, the person who succeeds him enters at the door behind him, and so on till the whole ballot be closed, if it can be done in one day. At the close of the ballot, if it be finished at one meeting, or at the end of each day's ballot if it lasts longer, the person who distributes the balloting balls shall be first ordered to declare how many have been distributed.—Then the approving box shall be opened, and the balls found in it numbered

over

over in presence of the Chairman, and marked publicly in the Register.—The rejecting balls shall in like manner be numbered over, and marked also in the Register: And on summing up these two, if the numbers correspond with those distributed, no farther enquiry is necessary; but if the number of balls in the two boxes shall exceed the number that were distributed, it proves that some person has intended to act unfairly, and has put in some counterfeit balls to serve a particular purpose. In that case, therefore, it will become necessary to examine all the balls, that the counterfeits may be picked out and rejected, and the true state of the vote thus ascertained. It was with a view to prevent counterfeits that the ball is only given immediately before it is to be used; and for the same purpose, at each time these are employed, a particular secret mark should be used, or a different kind of ball, so that it might be thus rendered a very difficult matter to get counterfeits ready for the occasion.

By this mode of procedure every person would be at all times at liberty to give his vote with freedom without fear of disobliging any-one; as no person could know which way any individual had given his vote. It would likewise discourage all attempts to obtain votes by means of bribery or other undue influence, as they could have no security that after this had been done the votes would be given according to their wish.

All questions in every case where votes are mentioned in regard to this community, to be determined exactly after the manner here prescribed: First by a shew of hands, and then by a ballot if necessary. In a case where several candidates are competitors, there shall be no other difference; but that instead of two boxes, there shall be placed one for each competitor, with his name inscribed above it in legible characters. The boxes also shall be painted in different colours, which shall be publicly declared in the hall, to direct those (if any) who may not be able to read.

In



In regard to the particular vote to the condemnation or acquittal of the magistrates, there shall be placed in the balloting-chamber four boxes, one ACQUIT, one REPRIMAND, one DISMISS, and one FINE; in which last case dismissal should always be included, and in this last case also the amount of the fine shall be ascertained by a Jury before the Court of Aldermen. In all cases where a censure is passed on any one, it shall imply a legal disability from being again elected into any department of the magistracy.

The above I conceive to be the particulars of most essential utility to be attended to in the system of police for a town calculated to preserve a due subordination to the law, and to guard against crimes without infringing on the liberty of the subject. To enter into farther details concerning the *minutiae* respecting the magistracy, would lead to too great a length for this place, and therefore are omitted.

I shall only subjoin a short description of a sketch of a plan of a Town, adapted for carrying the above-mentioned regulations into effect.

#### *Explanation of the Plan for a Town.*

In the ground-plan of a town, part of which is delineated on the plate fronting page 442, it is divided into four principal divisions, A B C and D, which for distinction's sake shall here be called WARDS. The Ward A is delineated entire, B being exactly its fellow. The Wards C and D are in like manner fellows, one half of each only being here represented. Each *Ward* is divided in the middle by one street (E E E E, 80 feet wide) passing directly through it. From that street branch off at right angles two other streets F F F F, &c. 80 feet broad also: And from these again branch off other streets, viz. G G of 60 feet, H H streets of 40 feet, and I streets of 20 feet wide each. There are likewise narrow lanes K of eight feet broad each, to afford

afford ready communication at times with other streets, as shall be afterwards mentioned. Between the wards A and B is a range of market-places, 1, 2, 3, &c. each separate market consisting of a quadrangular open court surrounded by a range of covered stalls, the whole forming only one range of buildings all of one uniform structure, which could not be here represented. Round each quadrangle runs a walk of twelve feet wide paved with flat free-stone, and covered; on each side of which is a range of stalls, somewhat on the same plan with that of the market-place of Leeds. This walk runs along each side without interruption, and communicates from side to side by means of the cross divisions. By this means, a person once in this market-place, can go through the whole without ever being in the least exposed to the weather. The stalls communicate with the inner courts, to which commodities for the market are brought in carts or waggons, and thus conveyed to the stalls without incommoding the purchasers. These markets may be thus arranged:

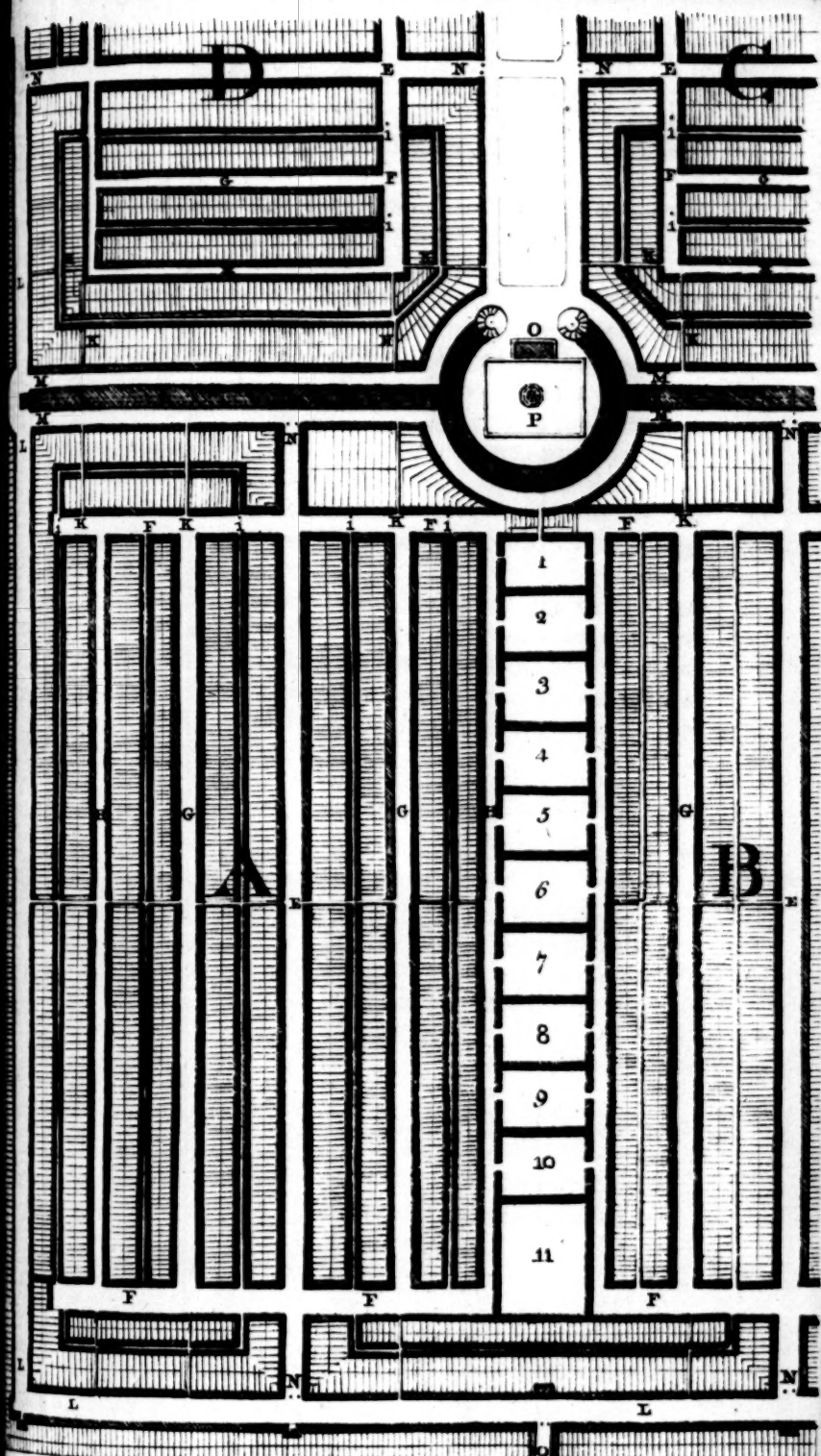
- |                  |                          |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Fruit market  | 7. Bacon and Pork market |
| 2. Poultry ditto | 8. Trype ditto           |
| 3. Veal do.      | 9. Greens do.            |
| 4. Beef do.      | 10. Roots do.            |
| 5. Beef do.      | 11. Meal and Corn do.    |
| 6. Mutton do.    |                          |

Round the four wards here represented, runs a street L L, &c. of 90 feet broad, which communicates with the principal street M M leading to the central area. In the middle is the parade or public place of exchange P, consisting of a quadrangular platform, which is raised two steps above the level of the common street, and consists of flat pavement. In the centre is an octagonal structure consisting of eight columns surrounding a central tower, the columns supporting a flat roof to afford shelter from rain, and the central tower terminating in a spire. On one side of the parade,

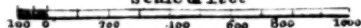
is

is a large public building O; the under part of that front of it which looks to the parade being formed into piazzas, affording a covered walk; and within, on the level of the floor, a coffeehouse for the ease of transacting business. The upper parts of the building form the Town-hall and public offices. Fronting this structure, is an open area properly railed in, with a street and houses on each side.

The dark-shaded circular line with those adjoining to it at either end represent a double range of shops with a covered walk in the middle, some idea of which may be obtained by inspection of the plan: the covered walk in the centre, and the passages from side to side, being marked by dotted lines. On each side of this range of shops is an open street, and at each end is a church, (one end only is seen, the other being supposed exactly similar to it). This middle range of buildings rises no higher than the height of one shop. The whole range being built in one uniform manner, with large elegant windows, and terminated at top by a cornice and balustrade. The roof of each shop flat arched, and the whole covered with a stone pavement. To this there are stairs for ascending and descending at proper distances, which could not be represented on account of the smallness of the scale; so that it forms an elegant parade in the middle of the street, [the breadth of which is, the open street on each side the shops, 70 feet, the breadth of the double range of shops, with the walk in the middle 72, so that the whole distance from side to side of this street is 212 feet], the most elegant houses being in this street on each side of it. The smallness of the scale, and the want of elevations, render it impossible here to give a proper idea of it. In the round towers terminating the two points of the circus, are stairs for ascending and descending. These towers rise to a considerable height, forming at a distance wings to the Town-hall. N N, &c. are the BARS formerly mentioned that divide the wards from each

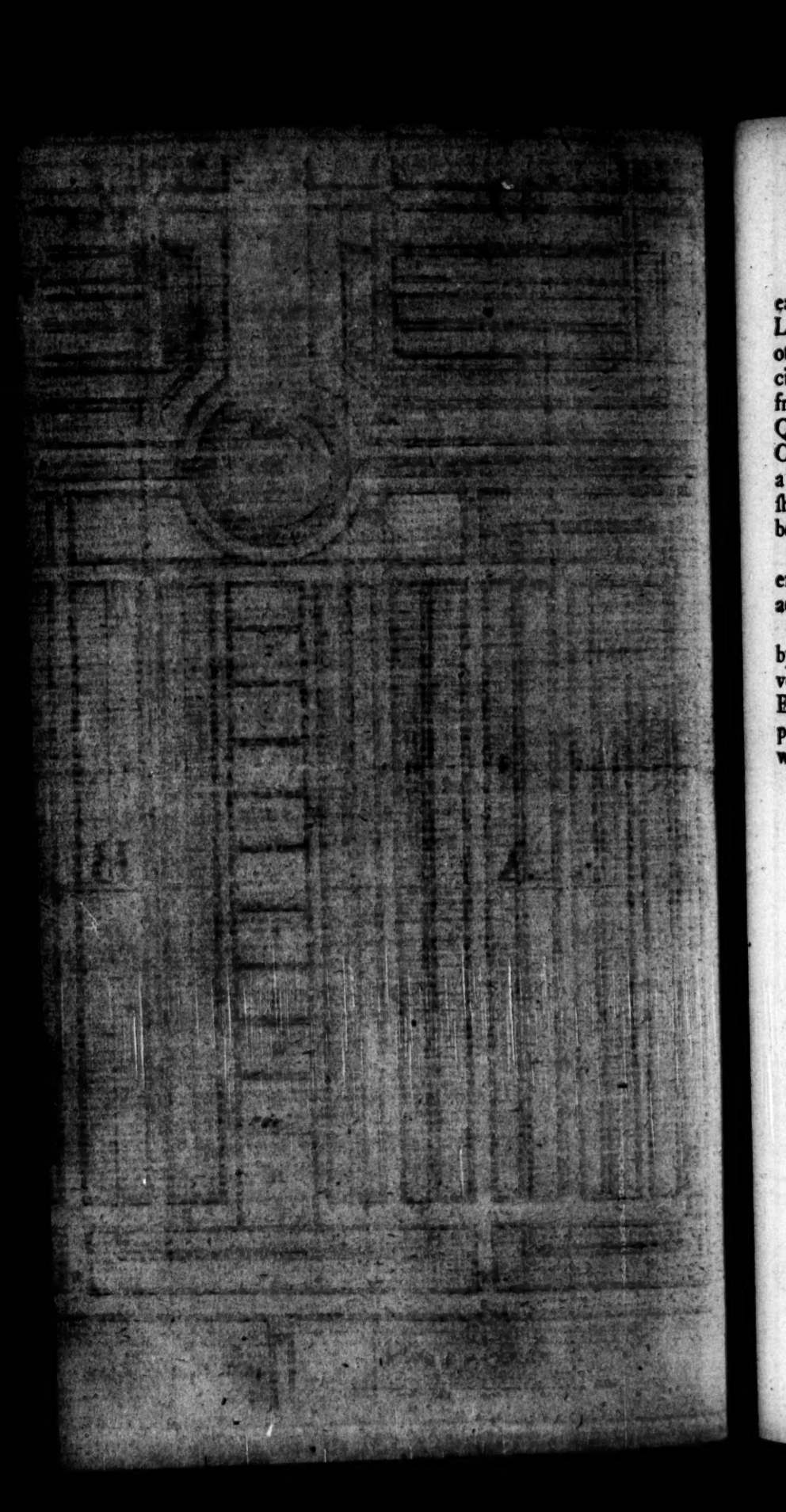


PLAN of a TOWN  
Scale of Feet



To front Page 442.





e  
L  
o  
ci  
fr  
C  
C  
a  
fl  
b  
  
e  
a  
  
b  
v  
E  
P  
w

each other, which are shut at night. The streets L L L L, &c. which are supposed to surround the other four wards, together with the streets M M, the circular area and parade, from another WARD shut up from a communication with the country by the bars Q Q, &c. and from the other Wards by the bars N N. Opposite to the bars N N, adjoining to the street M, a covered gateway for carriages goes through the row of shops, and another at the side of the circular area, both denoted by dotted lines.

The public buildings might be placed fronting the end of each street, which would shew them to great advantage.

All the other parts of this Plan may be understood by inspection, (See the Plate). Only it is to be observed, that on account of the smallness of the scale, the Engraver has not been able to preserve the exact proportions of the several streets, &c. for which the Reader will make a proper allowance.

*The Monies paid in Scotland for the Fisheries, from the Year 1750 to 1782.*

Y E A R S.	HERRINGS.			C O D.		
	Red.	White.	Total.	Dried.		V
	Barrels.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Cwt.	qrs.	lbs.
1751	---	25800½	25800½	8040	0	0
1752	---	18000½	18000½	8198	0	7
1753	---	26420½	26420½	9674	2	0
1754	---	26335½	26335½	13075	1	23
1755	---	49429	49429	7826	3	14
1756	---	41456½	41456½	10817	1	14
1757	---	24542	24542	7922	1	9
1758	---	41602	41602	13180	3	6
1759	---	22057½	22057½	12580	1	7
1760	---	14787	14787	11139	2	14
1761	---	26396½	26396½	8544	1	14
1762	---	13486	13486	10171	1	1
1763	---	25265	25265	11063	0	10
1764	---	9351	9351	11582	1	1
1765	---	30458	30458	11871	0	10
1766	---	27033	27033	8173	1	1
1767	---	20060	20060	8117	3	10
1768	---	28184½	28184½	10967	3	0
1769	---	25624	25624	6374	3	23
1770	---	47442½	47442½	9248	3	2
1771	---	31085	31086	8802	1	21
1772	---	21679½	21699½	7830	0	23
1773	---	39777	39777	8307	3	18
1774	607	43770	43770	7563	2	23
1775	682	33082	33082	10566	1	10
1776	430	50263	50263	11246	3	25
1777	800	41217½	41217½	12743	1	15
1778	843	35620	35620	8837	2	17
1779	334	32110	32110	6646	1	21
1780	119	25122	25122	14492	1	3
1781	190	14082½	14082½	14501	3	13
1782	---	12542½	12542½	14182	1	11
Total.	4031	923474½	927505½	324291	1	11

Customhouse, Edinburgh 13th Dec

CATCHCART BOYD,

THE END

*The Encouragement of the British Herring and Cod  
1782, distinguishing each Year.*

D.		BOUNTIES			PREMIUMS			TOTAL MONIES		
		paid on the Vessels employed in the Herring-fishery.			paid on the Her- rings and Cod exported.			paid for the En- couragement of the Fisheries.		
	Wet.									
lbs.	Barrels.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
0	15	223	4	0	4647	11	4	4870	15	4
7	57	452	8	0	3635	17	6½	4088	5	6½
0	20	777	18	0	4975	18	2	5753	16	2
3	16	605	8	0	5474	6	4½	6079	14	4½
4	—	116	14	0	7764	11	3½	7881	5	3½
4	34	116	14	0	7153	10	9½	7270	4	9½
9	107	259	10	0	4471	6	3½	4730	16	3½
6	218	454	0	0	7546	9	10½	8000	9	10½
7	14	454	0	0	4829	7	7½	5283	7	7½
4	19	1386	17	6	3644	8	10½	5031	6	4½
4	69	1863	17	6	4808	0	5½	6671	17	11½
1	—	5140	10	0	3323	16	5½	8464	6	5½
0	—	9228	17	0	5028	12	11½	14257	9	11½
1	32	12228	0	7½	2987	6	9½	15815	7	5½
0	46	17642	5	0	5846	6	7½	23488	11	7½
1	—	31190	15	0	4830	7	9½	36021	2	9½
0	9	31391	11	8	3893	4	10½	35184	16	6½
0	1	23884	0	0	5403	3	11	29287	3	11
0	6	9670	0	0	4373	7	6½	14043	7	6½
0	29	2154	10	10	7715	17	7½	9870	8	5½
0	36	2085	0	10	5408	16	3½	7353	17	1½
0	35	11103	7	6	4070	7	7½	15173	15	1½
0	3	18510	8	6	6550	1	8½	19060	10	2½
0	6	17023	5	0	6967	7	2½	21992	12	2½
0	52½	19609	15	0	6062	8	6½	25672	3	6½
0	3	21290	7	6	8436	12	4	29726	19	10
0	—	17592	2	6	7512	6	7	25102	8	1
0	—	16316	2	6	6159	15	10½	—	—	—
0	—	15287	0	0	5313	17	0	—	—	—
0	6	13445	12	6	5013	7	5½	—	—	—
0	—	9674	15	0	4071	5	1½	3726	0	1½
0	184½	20584	15	0	3829	17	10½	14224	19	10½
1	1018½	316365	2	11½	172409	15	7½	438775	8	7½

December 1784.

Y D, Examiner of Salt and Fishery Accounts.

A P P E N D I X

D I X



*AN ACCOUNT of the Quantity of HERRINGS exported from the Coast of England from Christmas 1750 to Christmas 1782, and of the Expence of the Fishery: as also of all the Monies paid in Excise and Duty on the Fish, and Cod Fisheries during that period, distinguished by Years.*

YEARS.	HERRINGS.				Cwt.	
	For Exportation.		For Home-consumption.			Exp.
	Red.	White.	Red.	White.		
	Barrels.	Barrels.	Thousands.	Barrels, Gall.		
1751	54568	4860½	11246763	1750 0	5003	
1752	55577	7229	13632924	2644 29	2263	
1753	37295½	5020	10560423	5692 9	2277	
1754	45298	5921½	13121448	3384 26	3718	
1755	60490½	8453	18043514	5769 15	2091	
1756	58266½	9407½	20894214	6847 0	1722	
1757	49540½	10942½	26852728	6172 10	1489	
1758	18169½	8043½	8497373	4201 17	3549	
1759	22221	8167	12600114	2894 24	3676	
1760	7038	12274½	6449999	6545 15	2466	
1761	13650½	14475½	5809468	1396 9	1893	
1762	19634½	10210	8804672	1401 16	11642	
1763	15171½	9042	5711182	2145 9	3784	
1764	25383	6759	11605520	2609 6	2310	
1765	14066½	13425	8244151	4421 9	2311	
1766	8923	7060	7684210	7080 3	1625	
1767	10644	6748½	10942128	3726 26	7	
1768	19124	4526½	8571033	3795 17	209	
1769	15840	2723	9168860	3530 0	0	
1770	28644	3966	13562878	3708 29	1122	
1771	12706½	2487	10378131	8993 15	187	
1772	18803	741	16521224	5552 0	0	
1773	7875½	2296	21845315	7558 20	0	
1774	42346½	2655	19932019	7308 10	22	
1775	32576½	4398	14504880	5767 30	10	
1776	28920	9417	14780015	3318 1	264	
1777	12115	11775½	12908357	6765 21	3473	
1778	12703½	11738	11236109	5778 15	3533	
1779	18942½	13829	19326045	8231 9	49	
1780	24083½	7697½	13350544	3644 12	4133	
1781	19386	12513	12570886	4394 3	690	
1782	21091	14268½	12984839	1543 17	134	

N. B. THIS Table is collected from the Third Report of the Committee of Fish from the Debenture payable by Law on Second, Third, and Sixth.

APPENDIX, PARTICULAR Account of the Number of Foreign Vessels fitted

Different Places.	Particular Ports.	Number of Vessels.
Holland	Schedaam	1
	Rotterdam	502
	Deeffhaven	1330
	Vlaerding	73
	Maeze Sluis	25
	Echuyfen	45
	The Reap	17
Prussia	Embsen	166
Denmark	Hambourg and Altona	44
France	Dunkirk	29
Flanders	Ostend	73
	Newport	13
Number of foreign ships		270
Besides which, the Danes have		153
The Dutch 2 convoyers, or storeships		2
Total number of ships or vessels		275

# D I X, No. XII.

of Herrings and Cod exported from England, from  
of Salted British Herrings taken for Home-con-  
in England for the Encouragement of the Herring  
distinguishing each Year.

C O D.			BOUNTIES			PREMIUMS			TOTAL MONIES		
Exported.			on the Vessels employed in the Herring- nery.			paid on the Herrings and Cod exported.			paid for the En- couragement of the Fisheries.		
Cwt.	qrs.	lbs.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
5003	1	18	187	19	7	6246	12	8	6434	12	3
2263	0	0	920	1	2	6203	8	0	7123	9	2
2277	1	0	2194	4	6	4312	12	8	6506	17	2
3718	1	0	4932	9	6	5357	0	0	10289	9	6
2001	0	0	5170	13	6	6768	9	3	11939	2	9
1722	0	0	3384	17	3	6640	17	8	10025	14	11
1489	0	7	8667	3	3	5906	9	4	14573	12	7
3549	2	0	3433	9	2	3254	17	8	8688	6	10
3676	3	2	0	0	0	3670	18	2	3670	18	2
2466	1	17	1466	9	9	2661	9	4	4127	19	1
1893	2	9	1466	9	9	3431	7	4	4897	17	1
11642	0	0	1466	9	9	3019	8	8	6486	18	5
3784	2	23	1466	9	9	2600	10	4	4067	0	1
2310	2	20	1918	7	9	3507	5	8	5425	13	5
2311	2	14	1918	7	6	3405	18	8	5324	6	2
1625	3	27	1590	17	6	1992	11	8	3583	9	2
7	0	27	2245	17	6	2563	12	0	4809	9	6
209	2	16	2057	15	0	2183	1	4	4240	16	4
0	0	0	3608	7	6	1749	1	8	5357	9	2
1122	0	0	18783	15	10	3212	3	0	21995	18	10
187	1	12	22296	1	8	1474	10	0	23770	11	8
0	0	0	16220	11	8	1774	3	0	17994	14	8
0	0	0	550	5	4	995	3	0	1545	8	4
22	0	0	633	0	2	4063	17	4	4696	17	6
10	0	0	908	11	8	3438	8	8	4347	0	4
264	0	0	935	10	6	3830	2	0	4765	12	6
3473	3	16	815	0	0	3209	0	0	4024	0	0
3539	0	0	397	17	6	3268	7	0	3666	4	6
495	2	18	0	0	0	3583	15	0	3583	15	0
4139	0	2	102	0	0	3823	10	0	3925	10	0
6905	0	0	77	12	6	4416	0	0	4493	12	6
1341	0	0	0	0	0	1970	10	0	3970	10	0

om the First, Second, and Third Appendixes of  
of Fisheries. The Eighth Column is computed  
on Herrings and Cod exported, as in Column

X, No. XIII.

els fitted out on the White-herring Fishery, &c. in 1784.

Number of Vessels.	Number of Men each Buft.		Total Numb. of Men.
1	14	-	14
5001	14	-	28
1330	15	-	45
73	14	-	1022
250	14	-	350
45	13	-	585
17	13	-	221
166	13	-	2265
44	14	-	616
20	14	-	406
273	10	-	70
13	13	-	169
11	13	-	143
270	Number of Seamen		2660
13	Yongers 8 men each, is		241
2	With 36 men each		72
275	Total number of men		2765

Appendix, No. 13.



APPENDIX, No. XIV.

EXPORTS of HERRINGS from Gottenburg, from the Year 1774 to 1782.

	1773.	1776.	1777.	1779.	1780.	1781.
	Barrels.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Barrels.
To Corke, and other Irish ports	25886	56400	19267	7313	13243	—
Madeira and West Indies	6278	7437	5826	20849	7281	2700
Dantzick	5693	4321	3716	755	538	1120
Stettin	2967	740	1485	2489	1770	6612
Koninsberg	4670	4970	6592	740	1601	1260
Riga	3359	3730	7337	2424	2200	9334
St. Petersburg	2179	4195	7507	6263	2182	2298
Wolgast	1962	2205	2458	3501	3124	8380
Different ports in the East Sea	20722	16930	35370	41897	33332	50270
France, and the Mediterranean	300	4267	5413	8369	12615	24225
Different ports in Sweden	7366	105195	94971	94600	77886	107399
	20627	23272	37075	40485	28778	29250
Different ports in Sweden	94594	128467	132046	135085	106664	136649

This taken from the Third Report of the Committee of Fisheries.

*Extract of a Letter from Gilbert Maafon, Esq.*

I Send you inclosed two accounts of the exports from Gottenburgh, where, of late years, they have had a prodigious herring-fishing; and I am so old as to remember two ships going yearly from the West Highlands to Gottenburgh with herrings, where there was not a fish caught at that time.

The herrings are a wandering fish: A great many years ago, there was a great quantity caught in the Frith of Forth; they left our coast, and went over to Norway, where they remained some years; and now their fishing is very considerable.

Since, they have been got in such abundance on the coast of Sweden, where they are caught at no expence, as they set into little inlets amongst the rocks, and, by inclosing them with a large net, they take out as many as they please with little bag-nets: they sell the herrings at Gottenburgh for nine or ten shillings per barrel, cask and salt included; so that they have cut the Dutch entirely out of the trade, in supplying the different markets in the Baltic, as they can be first from Gottenburgh to all the markets in the Baltic at a very easy freight; they are now in the practice of bolling the herrings for oil, as you will see by the quantity of herring oil exported from thence. In 1781, they exported 14,542 barrels of herring oil, not having consumption or demand for the herrings they caught. This quantity of oil must have destroyed an immense quantity of fish.

I think it my duty, as an individual, to furnish every information in an enquiry of this nature. But I fear it would require a very high bounty to enable us to dispute the market with the Swedes.

A P P E N -



## APPENDIX, No. XV.

*Answers to Mr. Byres' Queries concerning the Herring  
Fishing on the Coast of Sweden.*

1<sup>st</sup>. **T**HE fishing commenced 1752.

2<sup>d</sup>. During the first years after its commencement, the quantity cured was not so considerable; but, since the year 1760, we may reckon on an average 200,000 barrels yearly.

3<sup>d</sup>. The herrings are caught among the islands or rocks, none at sea, the nets not being calculated for that purpose; besides, it is unnecessary while they are in such plenty within the rocks.

4<sup>th</sup>. No Dutchmen or Foreigners have been employed in this fishing.—The Swedes had formerly vessels that fished on the coasts of Shetland; consequently they knew the manner of curing them.

5<sup>th</sup>. The nets used are in the manner of those used in Scotland for catching salmon, only much larger, and are worked in the same manner;—with this difference, The salmon are drawn immediately on the shore; but with a large draught of herrings this is impossible: they therefore heave in the net by a capstan at each arm, till the fish are so confined that boats can lie round the net, and load them with hoop-nets fastened to a shaft. These boats carry each from 30 to 100 barrels of fresh fish. There have been 2000 barrels in a net, but this is rare; 400 to 800 barrels is common.

6<sup>th</sup>. Herrings are caught on all parts of this coast, from Gottenburgh to Stromstad, a distance of about 35 leagues; none further south than Gottenburgh, or further north than Stromstad.—Late years, they have been most plenty to the northward.

7<sup>th</sup>. In the beginning of this fishing, they appeared the end of July, and in August; but have gradually altered, and seldom are seen now before the beginning of November.

8th. The shoals are much the same; but the late season of the year, with its usual attendants, stormy weather, certainly prevents getting so large draughts as formerly;—neither are the fish so fat as when they appeared early.

9th. The first fish costs sometimes very dear, from five to six dollars Smt per barrel (4s. 6d. to 5s.)—but this only for a few cargoes that people strive to get first to certain markets.—When the fishing sets seriously in with favourable weather, prices fall on an average: a barrel of fresh herring will stand 2 dol. Smt or 1s. 8d.

10th. One barrel of salt is generally allowed to three barrels of herring.

11th. The charge of casks and coooperage may be stated according to present circumstances, at 2½d. or 2½d.

12th. The people who gut the salt, are paid by the barrel of fresh herring, about 1d. per barrel.

13th. In point of bulk, a barrel of fresh herrings may be about one quarter larger than salted herrings.

14th. Formerly Government allowed a bounty on exportation; it was afterwards reduced to the duty of salt, which was drawn back.—Now nothing is allowed. Salt pays a duty of 2½d.

15th. A saving price for herrings we reckon just now d. 10 Smt per barrel.—That is without profit.

16th. Formerly we used to send 30,000 barrels yearly to Corke, of which the greatest part were re-shipped for the West Indies; but of late years, that quantity is reduced to 6 or 8000 barrels.—To the French West Indies we send none, being prohibited: very few go to France. This and last year a good many cargoes have gone to St. Eustatia.

17th. Herrings, as soon as gutted, are regularly laid into the casks or barrels with salt.—After standing 10 or 12 days, we reckon them ready for shipping, when the barrels are well daunted and filled up.

## APPENDIX, No. XV.

*Answers to Mr. Byres' Queries concerning the Herring  
Fishing on the Coast of Sweden.*

1<sup>st</sup>. **T**HE fishing commenced 1752.

2<sup>d</sup>. During the first years after its commencement, the quantity cured was not so considerable; but, since the year 1760, we may reckon on an average 100,000 barrels yearly.

3<sup>d</sup>. The herrings are caught among the islands or rocks, none at sea, the nets not being calculated for that purpose; besides, it is unnecessary while they are in such plenty within the rocks.

4<sup>th</sup>. No Dutchmen or Foreigners have been employed in this fishing.—The Swedes had formerly vessels that fished on the coasts of Shetland; consequently they knew the manner of curing them.

5<sup>th</sup>. The nets used are in the manner of those used in Scotland for catching salmon, only much larger, and are worked in the same manner;—with this difference, The salmon are drawn immediately on the shore; but with a large draught of herrings this is impossible: they therefore heave in the net by a capstan at each arm, till the fish are so confined that boats can lie round the net, and load them with hoop-nets fastened to a shaft. These boats carry each from 30 to 500 barrels of fresh fish. There have been 2000 barrels in a net, but this is rare; 400 to 800 barrels is common.

6<sup>th</sup>. Herrings are caught on all parts of this coast, from Gottenburgh to Stromstad, a distance of about 35 leagues; none further south than Gottenburgh, or further north than Stromstad.—Late years, they have been most plenty to the northward.

7<sup>th</sup>. In the beginning of this fishing, they appeared the end of July, and in August; but have gradually altered, and seldom are seen now before the beginning of November.

8<sup>th</sup>.

8th. The shoals are much the same; but the late season of the year, with its usual attendants, stormy weather, certainly prevents getting so large draughts as formerly;—neither are the fish so fat as when they appeared early.

9th. The first fish costs sometimes very dear, from five to six dollars Smt per barrel (4s. 6d. to 5s.)—but this only for a few cargoes that people strive to get first to certain markets.—When the fishing sets seriously in with favourable weather, prices fall on an average; a barrel of fresh herring will stand 2 dol. Smt or 1s. 8d.

10th. One barrel of salt is generally allowed to three barrels of herring.

11th. The charge of casts and cooperage may be stated according to present circumstances, at 2½d. or 22½d.

12th. The people who gut the salt, are paid by the barrel of fresh herring, about 1d. per barrel.

13th. In point of bulk, a barrel of fresh herrings may be about one quarter larger than salted herrings.

14th. Formerly Government allowed a bounty on exportation; it was afterwards reduced to the duty of salt, which was drawn back.—Now nothing is allowed. Salt pays a duty of 2½d.

15th. A saving price for herrings we reckon just now d. 10 Smt per barrel.—That is without profit.

16th. Formerly we used to send 30,000 barrels yearly to Cork, of which the greatest part were re-shipped for the West Indies; but of late years, that quantity is reduced to 6 or 8000 barrels.—To the French West Indies we send none, being prohibited: very few go to France. This and last year a good many cargoes have gone to St. Eustatia.

17th. Herrings, as soon as gutted, are regularly laid into the casks or barrels with salt.—After standing 10 or 12 days, we reckon them ready for shipping, when the barrels are well daunted and filled up.



18th. The herrings that are salted yield no oil: it is extracted only by boiling them in boilers that contain from 10 to 20 barrels.

19th. 8 to 10,000 casks or a'hms (nearly 42 gallons) are generally boiled: the quality is much inferior to whale-oil, and even to liver-oil; having this inconveniency, that in cold weather there is no keeping it from congealing to a consistence something like honey. The principal markets are the Baltic, Holland, and Spain; 10 to 1500 casks are yearly consumed in this country.—The average price is about 55d. Smt, L. 2s 7s.

20th. On an average for the whole fishing, 18 barrels of herrings will yield a cask of oil, which, including cask and all charge, will stand 42 to 44d. Smt.

21st. No bounty is allowed on the exportation of oil; on the contrary, it pays an excise and duty of 1½d. per cask.

22d. An oil-cask contains very nearly 42 gallons; a herring-barrel 31½ to 32 gallons,—of middle-sized herrings 900.

23d. Answered by 19 as to oil.—The markets for herrings are all the ports in the Baltic, Mediterranean, Madeira, France, and Ireland.

24th. Freights to the Baltic vary much, as vessels are wanted.—From one to three d. Smt per barrel.

N. B. These remarks were wrote in summer 1780. The autumn fishing that year was later than former years,—and the fresh herrings stood high average price, nearly 3d. per barrel.